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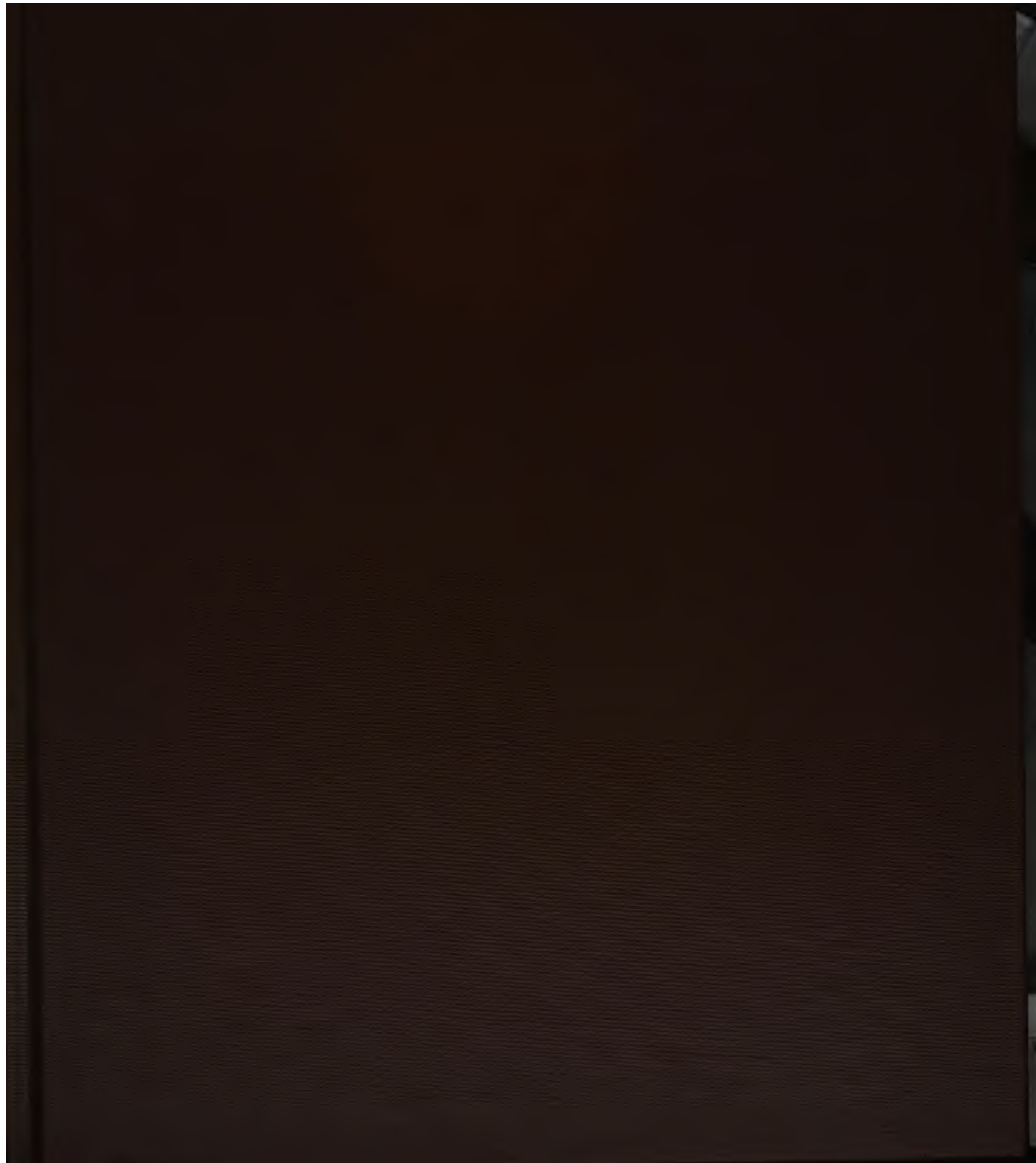
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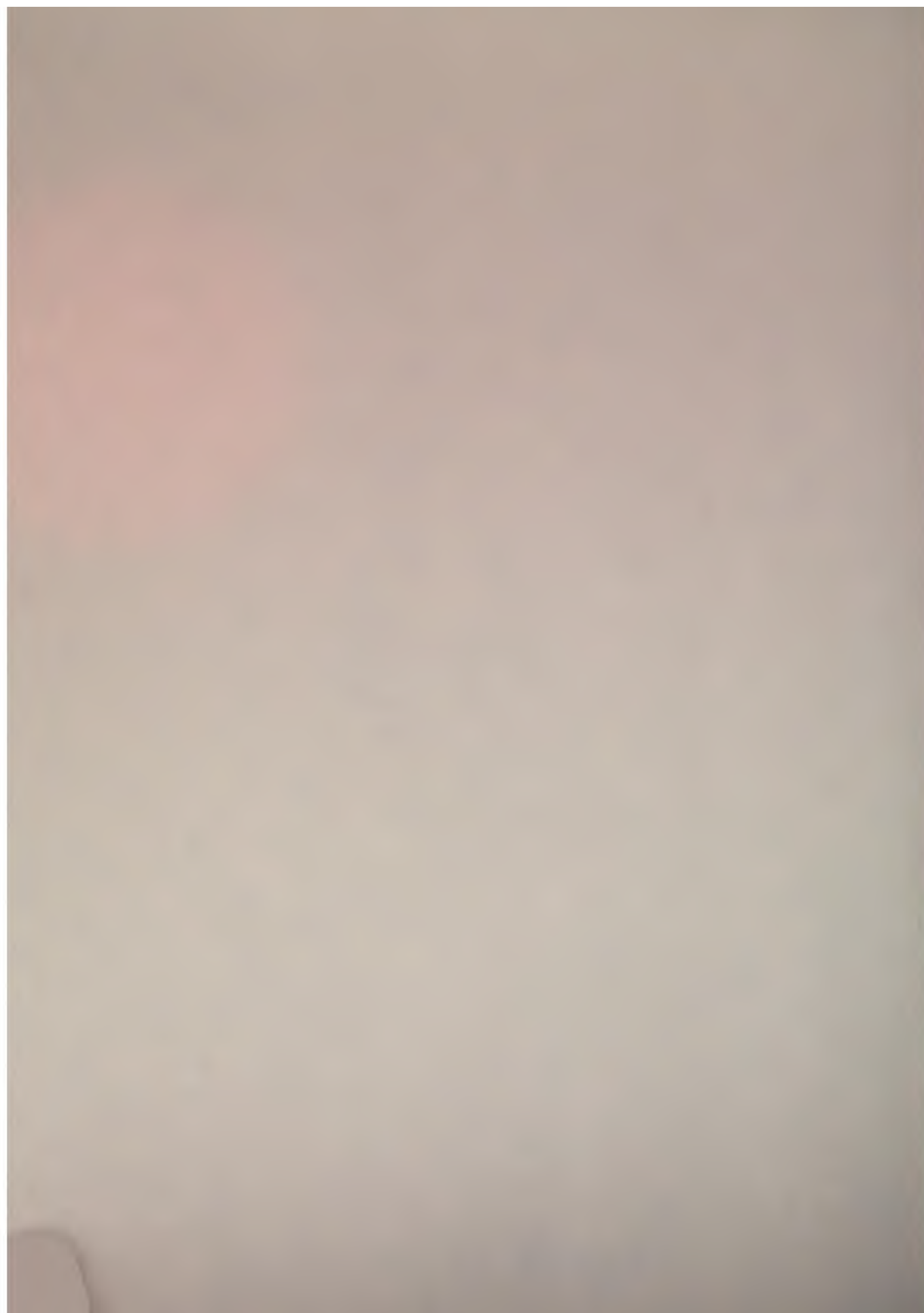
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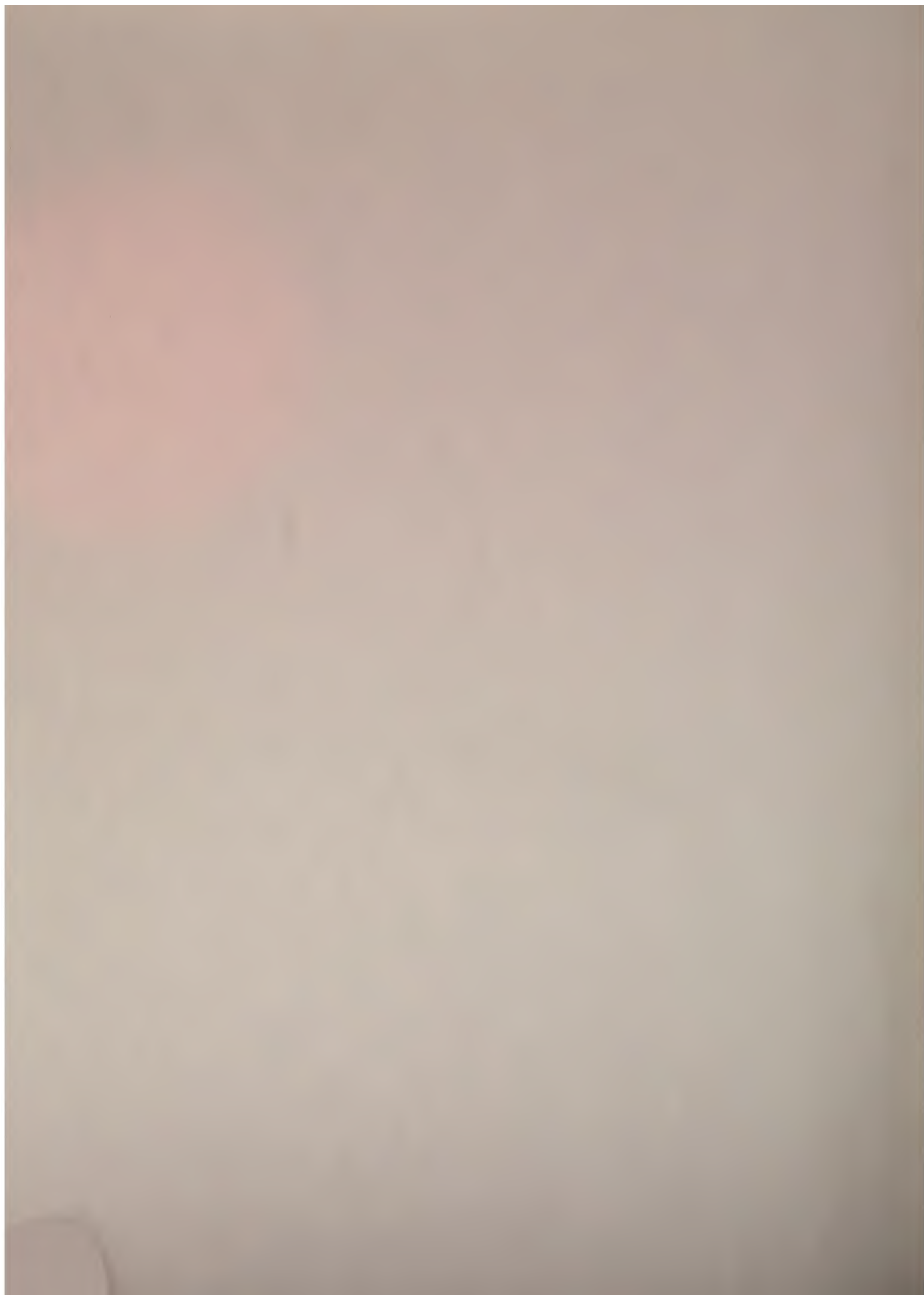












LETTERS AND PAPERS

RELATING TO

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,



AFTERWARDS

SEVENTH LORD GRAY.



EDINBURGH: M.DCCC.XXXV.

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THE following Collection of Letters and Papers relating to **PATRICK MASTER** of **GRAY**, afterwards **SEVENTH LORD GRAY**, was, in its present shape, ready for distribution among the **Members** of the **Bannatyne Club** more than five months ago. The distribution, however, was delayed from time to time, in the hope that the volume would be accompanied by a short Prefatory Notice, which, considering the quarter from which it was expected, could not fail to have added much to its value. But as there is now little hope of obtaining that very desirable accompaniment, it has been thought better to distribute the book, even in its present imperfect state, than to withhold it longer from the **Members** of the **Club**.

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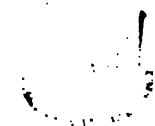
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LETTERS AND PAPERS
RELATING TO
PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

WILLIAM DAVISON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

SIR, the next day after my last dispatch, which was Wednesday, his Maiefty came to this towne, and hath lodged since in the provostis house, by cause he ment not to tarry longer then this day. On Thursday the Lordis of the Articles began to fitt, keeping the forme of ther last parliament, in swearing them at ther duty, not to reveale any thing till the Actis, which were before penned and resolued on by the direction of and counsaill of Arane and his Lady, who beare the sway in all their proceadingis, should be publiquely read in parliament; wheare no one Act was reasoned or voted, but concluded and passed *pleno iure*, to the generall offence and myslyk of all men: Of which Acts, with the names of such as are presently forfaultid, your honour shall herewith receaue the foun. The old Countesse of Marr,² and the Lady Hume,³ the latter at the sute of the Master of Gray, are contynewed to the next Seffion, which is appointed the xxijth

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 84, fol. 97. Davison was, at this time, English envoy at the Scotch court.

² Anabella Murray, wife of John, fifth Earl of Marr. She had the charge of King James when an infant, which may, perhaps, account for the leniency shown to her on this occasion.

³ Agnes Gray, daughter of Patrick, fifth Lord Gray, and the aunt of the Master of Gray.

of September; but the rest of the poore ladies presently forfaited without respect or favour. The poore Countesse of Gowrye,¹ who, sence her husbandis death, is waisted with greif and affliction, mett the King in a lytter, beyond the water, in his coming hither warde, and falling downe before him, to moue his pity and compassion towardis herself and her poore innocent children, hardly obteyned the heareing of the King, who departed and ~~gave her no answer;~~ and with what inhumanity she hathe bene vsed since her coming to this towne, by such as haue bene instrumentis of all her woe and callamyty, I tak shame to wryte. The same day she first compeerid, she movid the most part of her judges to teares; but finding ~~no grace,~~ the next day, being the last of the parliament, she returned to the place, purposing to tarry his Maiesties coming, but commaundement being sent to the Constable in his highnes name, for her removing out of the howse, the poore lady, feing no other remedy, was compelled to obey it, and being ledde fourth into the open streat, stayed there his highnes passing by, which was on foot in respect of the nerenes of his lodging, where falling on her knees and beseeching his Maiesties compassion, Arane, going betwixt her and the King, led him hastily by her, and she reaching at his cloake to stay his Maiestie, Arane, putting her from him, did not only ouerthrow her, which was easy to do, in respect of the poore ladies weakenes, but marched ouer her, who, partly with extreme greif, and partly with weakenes, fowned presently in the open streat, and was foyr to be conveyed into one of the next howses, where with much adoe they recovered life of her; which inhumanity even their most affectionat frendis do vtterly condemne and crye shame of.

Amongst others appointed to be forfaited in this parliament, was the lard of Gartheland² in Galloway, for that his seruant lent, in his absence, a horse or two to therle of Marr, being in his journey out of Ireland towardis Sterling; but having paid to the Erle 1000^{lb} Scottissh for his compoficion, and given caution for 3000^{lb} more, which is to be answered to the Master of Marr, bestowid vppon him by the King, for his relief, he hath obteyned his pardon, though with much difficulky, bycause that booth

¹ Dorothea, second daughter of Henry Stewart, first Lord Methven.

² Uther Macdowall of Garthland, elder.

fell not into the hands of my Lady¹ my commere,² who made her full accompt thereof. One Hamilton, gudman of the Haggs, being likewise fumonid, and to be forfeitid at this tyme, for a cause of lyk importaunce, hath made his compoficion with her for 3000^{lb} Scottifh, and procurid his exemptcion out of the fentence. And the reft, that are prefently con-tynewid to the next parliament, purpofely fpared, afwell in hope of lyk compoficion, be they neuer fo innocent, as for that they had no fufficient prooffe againft them at this tyme. She hath alfo, at this feflion, for the fomme of 8000 merks Scottifh, procurid the reftoreing of the old Byfhopp of Dunkeld,³ an excomunycat and profefhed papift, and removid the other, with the fpeciall intereft of my Lord of Argyle, who had from him the moft part of the lyvingis of that byfhopruck in leafe. Of all which they take no fhame to profefe an open portfalue, no one day paffing ouer their heads, without feeeking either land or money from fome one or other, to take them vnder their protection, which for gayne they fpare not, be the caufe right or wrong. The reft of thofe that be either continued or fumoned againft the next feflion, to be holden in September, do look for no juftice, but fuch as fhall be meafured out by the ell of my Lady Aranes confcience and good nature, who is lyke then to cary no leffe ftroke then at this tyme, bycaufe the King, who myndeth not to be prefent at it, hath appointed 4 of ech eftate to hold that feflion, and to proceed in the forfeaicture, of which my Lord her husband, being ordinarily ftyled Chauncellour, is to prefide alone, fo as all men expect none other but juft and equall proceeding at the handis of fo equall and competent judgis.

As for other things, namely, touching the fucceffe of the late meeting on the Borders, I am acquainted with litle on the one fyde or other generally, albeyt not vtterly ignorant what paffeth. This I am well affured of by perfons of good credit, that Arane, before his going to the Borders, (agreeably to that he had vtterd diuers tymes before to fome of his famyliars),

¹ Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, fourth Earl of Athol,—a woman whose profligacy was notorious.

² *Commere*, gossip, familiar acquaintance. Sir James Melville mentions that Davison became so familiar with Arran as to be ‘maid his gossup.’—*Memoirs*, p. 328.

³ Robert Crichton, who was promoted to the see in 1550, but deposed after the Reformation. By the influence of Arran and the Earl of Argyle he was again restored, as above stated, upon the surrender of the bishoprick by James Paton, then bishop.

sent this meſſag to the King by a gentleman of credit, that he ſhould tak no thought of any thing but his paſtyme and pleaſur, and for this meeting let him alone, who, as he ſaid, out of two pointis had gatherid a third, which he aſſured him ſelf ſhould proue the turne to outſhoote vs in our owne bowe. But of the particuler of thingis, ther is not anie in dowl that pretend to know any thing, but by diſcourſe and couerture befidis, the Maſter of Gray, (who being lately enterid into a ſtrayt league with Arane, ſince the French credens came home, wherein he had ſome intereſt, as a man ſpecially truſtid), is named to be ambaffadour towardis her Maieſtie, and, as I heare, to be very ſhortly diſpatchid, albeyt I be not yet made acquainted with all. This gentleman, who hath bene allwaies notid in religion an obſtinat papift, in affection French, in devocion a profeſſed ſeruant of the Scottiſh Queens; one that hath confeſſed him ſelf to be inwardly acquainted with the whole courſe and proceadings and intentis of her ſelf, and her frendis abroad, and to have bene very liberally gratified in Fraunce, both by the Duke of Guiſe, and at his laſt coming home, by the Spaniſh Ambaffadour in Fraunce, from whom, as his ſelf confeſſeth, he hadd a very fayer cupboard of plate in guiſte, to the value of 5 or 6000 roleues; and one that ſince his coming, hath bene as a ſteward in the diſpenſing of ſome part of that money the Queen ſent home, (which ſome of the Kingis owne counſell, and men moſt privy to her doings, haue confeſſed to my ſelf to have bene litle leſs then 20,000^{lb}, and that Ballandyn, of whom I have hertofore aduertified, was the meſſenger), of which he beſtowed, by her direction, lately the ſoume of 300.^{lb} on Fuliambe¹ and his companyon. This gentleman, I ſay, beinge ſo quallified, affectid, and recomended to this ſeruiſe by Arane his ſpeciall labour and procurement, I leave it to her Maieſtie and your honours theare to conſider what ground it hath, and wherto it tendeth, my ſelf fynding nothing but bare teſtimonyes of men accuſtomyd to deceyt, (againſt many contrary effectis), that may move me to put her Maieſty in hope of any ſound or direct dealing from hear, which, for myne own part, I dare not aſſure, what foeuer be pretended.² And yet am I borne in hand, that both the

¹ Godfrey Fuljambe and his brother were ſecret partizans and correſpondents of Queen Mary.

² Daviſon, in a letter of the 6th September 1584, gives Sir Chriſtopher Hatton almoſt a ſimilar account of the Maſter of Gray. "He [the King] is on Thursday laſt departed

King, for his own part, standeth well affected to cherish and preferue her Maiesties favour and frendshipp, and that Arane, to gayne his self credit with her Maiefty, whose only favour of a forepromes may avayle him most, hath procured this Ambassadour, and chofen out this person best acquainted with the plottis and courfes of her enemyes, to discouuer and lay them open wholly to her Maiefty with the Kings good lyking and consent, as they that pretend nothing more then direct and plaine proceedings, of which I leave the tryall to her Maieftys iudgement and experience.

The King departed this morning towardis Faulkland, but the lordis of his Counsell remayne here for a tyme, to take order in such things as could not be dispatched before his departure, and are dryven to go vpp to the Castell and sitt there in Counsell, to th'end that nothing be done without the privyete of my Lady, my cummere. I was on Sonday invited to dyne theare, wheare I held some purpose with his Maiefty of many thingis, and obseruid the strangenes of their behaviour towards the poore young prince, who is so distractid and veryid with their endles importunityes, as it pitied me to see yt, and, if I be not abusid, groweth full of their fashions

from hence to Faulkland, where they are in deliberacion to dispatche the Master of Graye, appoynted by Arraynes procurement to be ambassadour to her Maiefty; but his departure is yet uncerten. This gentleman, besids that he is a knowen papist, a favorer of the French course, a seruant and pencioner of the Queens, and a suspected pensioner of the Popes, hath himselfe confessed to have had at his cominge out of Fraunce, a cupboard of plate, geaven him by the Spanishe ambassadour resident ther, to the valewe of 5 or 6000 crownes, besids other gyfts frau the Duke of Guise, and other the Queenes frinds; and since his cominge home, hath bine Threasurer of such monye as was sent home by Ballandine, as cominge from the Queen, whereof I knowe where he weighed at one tyme 10,000^{ls}, reserved to the Kings owne use, besids his owne parte, and that was els disposed amongst other of the courtiers, to releve ther hungry appetits; out of which store he hath of late, by his owne confession, delivered at the Queens comaundement 300^{ls} to Fuljambe and his companyon, who, fleeinge this last year owt of England, have bine since enterteigned with Huntly in the North, and of late at his fathers in Fife, as was likewise Nugent the Irish rebell and his companyon. So, as by the qualitie of the person, with other circumstaunces, your honour may ghesse what fructe is to be gathered of his ambassage, and what respect they have here for religion that employe men so qualified. He maketh great preparacion, and taketh with him divers yonge gentlemen as vayne as himselfe. But hitherto, I am not once maide acquaynted by him selfe, eyther with diett or his charge, my Lord of Hunsden, and they thinckinge it best to have it passe throughe no more hands than ther owne, to whome I freely yeld all the honour and reputacion that may grow thereof, which, I feare, will not be much when ther accompt is maide; but th'ende will crowne the worke."—

HARL. MSS. No. 291, fo. 143.

and behaviours which he will sometymes discourse of in broad language, as he that is not ignorant how they vse him. She hath, since the breaking vpp of the chifts of the jewellis, made newe keyes without the Kings privité or comaundement, the old remayning yet with Sir R. Melvill, who is mynded to resygne them vpp to his Maiefty, so sone as he shall come to the Court, bycause he will no longer stand charged with that which she hath the disposicion of, [whom] every man suspectith to skillfull in subtraction. It is certainly reported, that she hath also, in surveighing the wardrobe, tryid what garmentis, &c that were the Queens, may best fitt her, and chose out, at her own discretion, what she lyketh; which strange fashion of hers and her husbands will, in the iudgement of the wyfe in Court, hasten their change of fortune, howfoeuer they fede ther selues now with an opinion of their long standing. I fynd by my *bmio* eg.¹ 100, that 100 is not sleeping or careless, though he be farr of, and is perswaded the tyme will help all this. I haue enterteigned *eru*² with very many good complimentis and assurance of the good meaning, favour, and affection of 10, but empty woords I fynd move litle. I do now live here only as a ciphèr, and may very well be spared if it please her Maiefty, besidis that your honour knoweth what cause I haue to desier home, to take some order in your owne estate, and seing it shalbe the vnburdening her Maiefty of a nedeles charge, and an ease to my self. I beseech your honour give me leave to importune you still as a meane to her Maiefty for my revocation, which I desire not, as he that weryeth to do her Maiefty seruice, but bycause I see not what my prefence and stay here can avayle, my Lord of Hunsdon his only credit sufficing with such as now guyde the streame. Beseeching therefore your honours favour, and expecting your good aunswer, I do for this tyme recomend your honour to the providence of the Allmighty.

Your honours most humbly at comaunding,

W. DAUISON.

Edinburgh the xxiiij of August 1584.

POSTSCRIPT. The Abbot of Newbottill³ dyed the last week, and was buried yesterday. The minifter, that preached at his buryall, and en-

¹ Ciphèr. ² Ciphèr. ³ Mark Kerr, second son of Sir Andrew Kerr of Cessford.

veighed against the corruption and confusion eating into this Church by the ambition and wickednes of their Bishopps, was the same day sent for and comytted. The same day, which was Sondag, the Byshopps of St Andrewes and Abirdene preached before the King in the great church of this towne, labouring more to establisht heir owne estate then to edify the hearers, who generally skorned and condempned them, and, without the Kings presence, had otherwyse testified their myslyking, but all this notwithstanding, they push forward their owne pompe, though with the common hurt of the whole state of this Church, wherof they appeare to have very litle fence. The Provost of Glenliwde¹ is brought againe to this towne, and comytted to the Castle; their foreign conspiracy is at an end, nowe my Lord of Arane hath hitt the mark he aymid at. The King him self, as is assured me by some of his owne Counsell, hath an vtter myslyk of the chang, and hath blaimes the Secretary and Sir R. Melvin for dealing further in the matter then they had warrant from himself. But some think the M^r yielding in this and others extraordinary dealing against him without the Kings warraunt, will turne to Aranes disadvantage with the tyme, howsoever he do presently beare yt owt. I find the myslyk generall of his insolent and imperious proceeding, and even those he vseth and trusteth most will prove vnto him rotten reedis with the tyme, if I am not deceived, som of them having to myself spoken playne languag tending that way, and as they assure me the King him self [is] growing weary of the insolence and rapyne both of him and his wife; wherein the tyme only must bring the remedy. The witches haue foretold that he shalle dye a violent death, and his wife, as I am credibly aduertised, hath spoken asmuch to her famyliar frends. And albeyt thes thingis move others little, yet doth it appeare to setle a contynuall feare in him, who goeth for the most part armid; and being late with the King one evening, and returning to the Castle with his wife, caused the torches to be putt out, and cast an other cloke vppon him self, and left his wife, who kept her way through the high streat, and with one onely seruant passed an other by way secretly, and met her at the Castle gate, testifieing thereby the contynuall fear he liveth in.

¹ Mr Robert Douglas, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Lincluden in Galloway.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹1. *Octobre 1584.*

J'AY escript mon opinion à mon fils touchant l'ouverture que vous m'avez fait en son nom pour vostre voyage vers la Royne d'Angleterre. Si luy mande pleinement que Je ne puis aulcunement approuver ceste artificielle demonstration d'un malcontentement et nouvelle division entre luy et moy, comme preiudiciable a tous deux pour les raisons qui f'ensuyuent. Afauoir, que la Royne d'Angleterre ou n'adiouftera point de foy, et le prendra en dissimulation a ieu desseigné expres entre mon fils et moy, ce que suffira pour empescher vostre voyage vers moy, au lieu de la faciliter: ou si elle croist que la diuision estre vraye, c'est donner a nos ennemys pres d'elle le seul aduantage qu'ils desirent pour la destourner de proceder plus auant en aulcun traicté avec nous. Car, sans aulcune doubte, ils luy ont iufques icy faict croire et fondre sa feureté et de son estat, en nostre diuision. &c.

Croyez pour certain qu'il n'y a que la feule crainte d'un extreme qui puisse amener la Royne d'Angleterre a faire pour nous, et que rien rendra mon fils si comtemptible vers elle, qui si par la pasture des belles promesses elle le peult une fois destituer et priuer de l'appuy et support de moy et mes amys, et parens les princes estrangers; &c. pourtant si mon filz est persuadé, soit par belles promesses d'Angleterre ou d'ailleurs qu'en se monstrant separé de moy, il obtiendra d'elle a part des meilleures conditions; qu'il f'asseure du contraire, estant la feule chose a quoy elle tend, de luy donner, comme l'on doit, la croche en iambe, et qu'elle ne se fouciera par apres de parfournier et observer chose quelconque qu'elle aura promise. &c.

Octobre 1584.

Je ne me doubte point qu'elle ne paste mon fils, comme elle faict moy mesmes de l'esperance de la succession de ceste couronne, mais ce n'est qu'artifice pour seulement nous tenir en laisse apres elle, ayant des le

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108: where this article is marked as "An abstract out of certayne Letters of the Queene of Scottes to the Mr of Gray," with the title 'Recueils des Lettres de la Royne d'Escoce au Mr de Gray.'

commencement de fon regne tenu toufiours ce maxime principale de fa feureté ou elle eft plus refolu que iamais, de ne declarer, tant qu'elle viura, aucun heritier, ny fouffrir aucune de fes fubietz deftourner leurs yeulx d'elle: &c.

COMMISSION BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY,
AS AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND.¹

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of Scottes, To all and fyndrie, whome yt efferis, whose knowledge theis our letteris fhall to come, GREETINGE; Forasmuche as, we haue confiderid of the beste and most aparent meanes to fettel our estate in quietnes and suretie, and our Realme in a perfett tranquillitie and repofe, and findinge the fame cheefie to confist in keeping stedfaste and inviolable the happie peace, and long contynewd amitye betwixt vs and our deereft fifter and coufin, the Queene of Englande, being the Princes in the worlde neereft alwaies, and moſte respectable to ws, and enterteyning of the fame on our behaulfe, by good intelligens and mutuall correspondancis, in all good offices tendinge to the obſervacion and increaſe of the fame, Will, therefore, having good prooffe and experience of the wiſdome, willingenes, circumspection and ſufficiency alwaies, of our truſtie and wellbelovide coufin, PATRICK MASTER OF GRAYE, ſpeciall gentleman of our Privie chamber, and of his entire and dutifull affection borne to our estate and ſervis, have, in that reſpect, made, nominate, conſtitute and ordeyned, and by theis our letteris, nominate, makes, conſtitutis and ordeynes him our Ambaſſador, orratour, commiſſioner, deputie, and ſpeciall meſſanger, to the effect vnder written, givinge, graunting, and committing to him our full power, ſpeciall comaunde, expreſſe bydding, and chardg, for vs and in our name and behaulfe to conveane with our deereft fifter and coufin, the Queene of Englande, her councell, and ſuch as ſhe ſhall appointe and authoriſe to

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 102, fol. 119.

that effect, at what fouever tymes and places; and to treate, conferr, deliberate and conclude in all matters and cawfes betwixt vs and our faide deereft fister, our domynions and fubiects, tending to the confirmacion and enterteynment of the faide amitye, and continueance of peace and quietnes betwixt vs: And thervppon to contracte, indent, promife, fubfcribe and enterchange feales, and generally all and fundrye other thingis to do, exercife and vse, that to th'execution of the premiffes neceffarey requirid, although the fame requierid more speciall comiffion nor is here in expreffid, firm and ftable houlding, and for to houlde all and what fouever thing our faid Ambaffador, deputie, and meffenger, in our name in the premiffes, lawfully leadis to be doun. Thies vnder our greate feale, and fubfcribed with our hande, at our Pallace of Hollyrood hoofe þe xiiijth daie of Octobir, 1584, and of our raigne the xvijth yere.

KING JAMES VI. TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

TRUSTY AND WELLBELOVED, We greete you well: having directed our trusty and wellbeloved coufen, Patrick Maifter of Gray, gentelman of our Privy chamber, to our deereft fester, the Queene your foueraigne, to open and communicate vnto her fuch thinges on our behalf, as being well accepted of, according to our expectacion, may prooue greatly to the weale of both our Crowns and Countreyes, wee will require you very earnestly, that, according to the place of credite and counsell which you occupy, you willbe the meane to further him to speedy prefence, and a convenient difpatch and anfwere of his errand; trusting him in that which he fhall deliver vnto you on our behalf: Thus we committ you to God. From our Pallace of Halirud houfe.

Your loving friend,

JAMES R.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. VIII. fol. 118.

EARL OF ARRANS INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

No feale to be enterchanged, nor handwritt by you, but according to the old band, chiefly that either others rebells be either delivered or banished, and the receators common enemies to both realmes.

In all other purpofes of weight desire to be further resolved of his Maiefty; fometime alleadging fuch headis not to be in your instruccions anywife; fome tyme, that ye are specially in that inhibited, whereuppon your blanckes suffice, also the blanckes brought with you to make your revocacion, as the necessity shallbe offred.

One parte of your instruccions you must haue to many patent, namely, that yf the league be kept to his Maieftie touching his rebells, that you lett the Queene in all thinges knowe her danger, which the Kings Maiefty esteemeth his owne; and if need require, offer in his Maiestys name forces, both vppon foote and horfback, to defend her, and pursue all that would disturbe her estate or realme: the condicions as is conteyned in the league, I thinck to our owne Border, and so many dayes vppon our chardges; what further vppon the Queenes.

Yf a league offensive and defenfive shalbe to you propounded, cast it not of, but demaund the condicions, and poste them to his Maiefty, whereof you shalbe shortly resolved; for that, theis ten yeares, they have ever beene seeking, and when noe other thing will serve, that will protract tyme, and be in his Maiesties opinion to graunt or denie.

Yf it shalbe condiscended the Rebells be bannished, spare not to condiscend to this, that all subiects of England shall haue acceffe to all partes of Scotland with out passport or licence, and all Scotcs in England in like manner. This will pleasure England greatly, and yet I see a comodity divers wayes to our Maister.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VII. art. 191, fol. 224. This article is marked in the printed Catalogue of the Cotton. MSS. under the date August 1585, but it evidently refers to the embassy of the Master of Gray in 1584.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

MY VERY GOODE LORDE, thys longe lookyd for man, the Master of Gray, ys come att lasste, for whose stay ther hath wantyd no practysys, whyther yn Skotlande nor owte of Englande; for in Skotlande, the Collonell Stewarde, the factyon of France and Spayne, and the papyftis, haue dune theyr beste; all the forine factyons in Englande hathe nott slepte. And he hathe nott only hade worde sent hym, how gretly he ys alreddy condemd at the courte, bothe with hyr Maiefty and vthers about hyr, and that he shall fynde so slender entertaynment there, as he wyll fume wyshe hymselfe away. And to feare hym the more, yt hathe byn sayd too hym, that yn hys passynge threw thys cuntrey, his cairyagis shalbe taken, with all hys wrytyns, and hymselfe nott fre from perryll, whyche, God wyllynge, I wyll take order wellynowhe for hys fasty too Newcastle. And no dowght but hys cumynge offendis many yn Englande, for they know he cane towche fume of them deply. He came hyther apon Satterday yn the afternune, hauynge exprese commandment too deale with me, and too make me acquayntyd with hys negocyacion shurely, as he hathe dune, and hathe promeste me muche, but I wyll neyther trust hym too farr, nor aduyse hyr Maiefty too truste hym, farther then she shall fynde cawse at hys hande, bycawse he ys so gretly condemde alreddy amonge vs, as whatfoeuer he saythe, yea the King hymselfe, or therle of Arren, muste nott be beleuyd. Thys mane, for beynge grete with the Skotish Queen, and for beynge a papyfte, I know he cane say mutche of the Skotish Queen, few men more; but for hys papyftry, I wolde all owars wer fuche, for yesterday, beynge Sunday, he went to the chyrche with me, hauynge feruys booke of myne, fyttynge with me yn my peu, he sayde all the feruys, and, bothe befor the fermone and after, he fange the salmes with me, aswell as I cowlde doo, wherby yt semes he had byn eufyd too them, or else he cowlde not a dune yt so well and so reddyly now, lett hys relygyon be whatt ytt wyll.

¹ From the original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 105, fol. 122.

Hys comyffyon ys very large, the coppy wherof I fende your Lordship herwith. The princypall poyntis of hys Ambassage ar two: the fyrste, too desier at hyr Maieftys handis, ayther the delyuery, or the puttynge from hyr, hys rebbelis, (as he termes them), for the King cane neyther thynk hys realme fre from practysys, nor hys parson fre from perryll, so longe as they be sufferd too remayne so neare hym. Vpone whyche poynte he and I wer yn grete argument, so farr as I towlde hym, that yf that wer th'effecte of hys negocyacyon, I wolde rather venter too stay hym heare, or too lett hym returne agayne, tyll I know hyr Maieftys farther pleasure, then to suffer hym to pase with matter that shoulde be rather offencyue to hyr Maiefty, then that satyffactyon that hathe byn promest, and whyche hyr Maiefty lookes for at hys hande. In fyne, after longe debate, he grew more mylder, alledgyng that, yf hys Master shoulde dyscouer the practysys of vther pryncys, now hys frendis, and therby lose them vtterly, and hyr Maiefty nott too shew hyrfelfe so carefull of hym, as, at his feut and erneste requeste, too deny the puttynge away of hys Rebels, he shoulde stand yn very hard case too lose hys frendis who hathe made hyme many grete offers, and yett hys enymys kepte and mayntaynyd at hys nose, and therby iuste cawse for hymself, and all the worlde, to thynke that hyr Maiefty makes more accownte of the subiects then of the King. But, saythe he, yf yt may please hyr Maiefty to deale so favorably and louyngly with the King, as yf she fynd hyrfelfe fully satysfyde yn suche thyngis as she wolde know of any practyse agenste hyr state, that then she wyll put hys ennymys from hyr; apone hyr assurance herof, ther ys no practys that hathe byn practysde agenst hyrfelf or hyr estate, eyther by France, Spayne, the Skotthe Queen, or the Pope, thys 5 yere, but she shall know ytt, and how too avoyde ytt, vtherwyse he wyll returne as he came; for he wyll nott lose hys Master many frendis of grete princys, and nott make hym feure of hyr Maiefty, for, saythe he, what loue and faythfull amyté cane he looke for at hyr Maieftys handis yf she refuse hym so reafonable a requeste, whyche shee ys bownde too doe by the treatye. Thys farr he hathe gone with me, so as nowe hyr Maiefty ys too confyder whyther the knowlege of the bottome of thes practysys agenst hyr Maiefty and hyr estate, or the kepyng and mayntaynyng of thes men yn hyr

realme, whome he accountis for hys rebellis and mortall ennymys, wyll stande hyr yn moſte ſtede, and be moſte for hyr ſeurty; whyche I leaue to hyr Maieſtys graue conſyderacyon, and ther ys no dowght, but as thys mane cane dyſcouer all thes forren practyſys, ſo ys he acquayntyd with moſte of our practyſys at home, and the practyſars, whyche, in my ſymple opynyon, wolde ſtande her Maieſty yn more ſtede, then thes mens beyng here þen yf they wer att home, but that I refer to wyſer men.

Thys, I know, the King hathe ſayde, that yf they wer farther of, and myght heare of thyr dewtyfull euſage towards hym, ther ys nothyng ſo farr paſte, but by theyre good deſertes myghte be callyd bak agayne, and ſume of them callyd home agayne. Dumfarmelyn,¹ who was banyſht, beyng very fyke wher he was, hathe returnyd home for hys helthe withoute leaue, and yet the King nott offendyd with him, but yn hys coming nye too Edenburgh lay thre dayſe at hys howſe with hym.

Now, my Lord, towchyng the King and therle of Arren. As I haue wrytten hertofore, no mane knowſe the ſecretis of mens hartis but God, but yf they be nott worſe then dyuelis, but that I may beleue open and ſolleme prowſe, erneste and lyberall proteſtacyons, hyr Maieſty may haue the King affuryd too hyr from all the worlde: therfor, yf he be worth the hauynge, let hyr take howlde of hym whylſte ſhe may, for yf ſhe lett hym flype now, ſeurlly he wyll neuer be hade agayne. And for therle of Arren, he muſte of neceſſyté rune thys cowrſe, for yn reſpecte of hys up-howldynge and contynewynge the King yn thys cowrſe, he ys gretely hatyd of the Kings mother, and all hyr factyon of France, and of all the papyſtes, and more hatyd ſynce he begane thys cowrſe then euer he was byfore, which I know too be moſte trew, which makes me thynk that he deales playnly.

Thus haue I troblyd your Lordſhip with a longe dyſcowrſe of fuche matters as paſte betwene hym and me, ſo neare as I cane, but with many thyngs more to longe too wryght, and ſo I commit your Lordſhip to th'Almyghty. Your affuryd frende

H. HUNSDON.

At Barwyke the 19th of October 1584.

¹ Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline.

LORD HUNSDON TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

Nowe, my gode Lord, hauyng wrytten fomuche yn my vther letter, as I thinke your Lordship wyll acquaynte hyr Maiefty with all, hauynge also wryttyn sumthyng to hyr Maiefty, whyche, I praye your Lordship too delyuer vntoo hyr, I am too acquaynt your Lordship with fume vther matters to be eyfyd at your dyscretyon. Thys gentylmane ys exprestly comandyd yn all hys dooyngis too be reulyd by your Lordships aduyse and myne, and hauynge browghte fundry letters from the King, the coppys wherof he hathe shewde me, for that he ys to delyuer none but fuche as I appoynt hym. The King wyll by no meanes wryght nor deale with Mr. Secretary, for, saythe he, I knowe hym too be my grete ennymy, and hathe hys hande too shew, which I thynke thys gentylmane hathe. My Lord of Leycester hathe thowghte grete vnkyndnes that he hathe nott byn imployde yn thes matters, as hys hande ys too be showde. So, as I haue wyllyd hym yn anywyse to delyuer all hys letters, and bycawse ther is more partycularytis yn your Lordships letter than yn any of the reste, and perhaps yf your Lordship delyuer ytt hyr byfor you reade ytt yourfelfe, she wyll kepe ytt, he shall delyuer your Lordship the copy therof.

As I haue wrytten yn my vther letter, he wyll craue too haue thes lordis, and fume vthers, too be delyueryde accordinge too the vertew of treuse and treaty, the copy of whyche artycle he bryngs with him, yett he wyll nott perfyste therapon, so as they may be sent yntoo any vther cuntrey owte of the Realme; whyche may be grantyd hym for a tyme, for yf that be denyd vntoo hym, I cane assure your Lordship that he wyll vtter nothyng of those matters hyr Maiefty wolde know; wheryn yf he doo not satyffy hyr Maiefty to hyr contentment, she may reuoke them agayne at her pleasure, and I assure your Lordship yt ys neyther goode pollyfy, nor fytt they shold be sufferde to remayne with fuche troopes and yn fuche forte. Ther ys neare hande 100 of them yn Newcastell, and euery fayre nyght they walk yn the markett plasys, yea and apon the walles

¹ From the Original, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 106, fol. 123.

with theyr pyftols at theyr gyrdelis at xi and xij a cloke, whyche a grete many of the beſte of the towne doothe gretely myſlike withall; and my Lord, thohe they be now heare for theyr ſuccor, they may herafter be callyd home agayne, and then no dowght they will be, as theyr forfathers hath byn, ſo as ytt ys nott fytt ſo many of them ſhould be ſo priuy of the ſecretis of that towne, as they be, nott only of the towne, but of all the cuntrey, bothe by water and by lande, for they ryde and go wher they lyfte. They myght be at the leſte ynward, ſume at Yorke, ſume too London, and ſume to othyr placys, and I aſſure your Lordſhyp, ther ys ſuche rydyng from Newcaſtell ynto Skotlande, and owt of Skotlande too them, as ys ſtrange. One the other fyde, ther ys faſte poſtyng from them to the courte and London, and from thens too theme, and tyll your Lordſhyp was comandyd too deale with me heryn, ther was nothyng wrott vp but they wer aduertifyd of ytt, whyche I knowe too be moſt trewe; and eſpecyall letters wrytten that they ſhowlde want nothyng, eſpecyally the Maſter of Glammeſ and Coluyn;¹ ſo as whatſoeuer they doo, none dare fynde any fawlte with them. The King ys gretely greuyd with hys mynyſtery for goyng awaye without any cauſe gyuen too them, wherby, ſaythe he, vther princys thynke hym yrrelygyus, and reddy to revolte from relygyon, wherappon they haue ſowght too fende Jeſuytis and bookes yntoo hys Realme, too poyſon yt as owars; and whyche ys worſe, yt ys gyuen owte that he ys nott the Kings ſune but Dauys,² whyche, ſaythe he, cumes from theſe men; whyche he towlde Cuddy Armerar,³ wyth water yn hys eyfe, beyng but they two alone. And too dyſcredyt therle of Arren with the King, ſume that ar aboute hym hathe gyuen owte that he ys fedd frome me with angels by Armerar; wherapon the King dyd requyer Armerar, beyng but they two, as euer he wold doo anythyng for hym, that he wold tell hym one thyng, who anſerd

¹ Mr John Colvill, formerly chantor of Glasgow. He had deſerted the clerical profeſſion on account of its poverty, and became a court intriguer, and a follower of the Earl of Gowrie, and of Francis Lord Bothwell.

² David Rizzio.

³ Cuthbert Armourer, who appears to have been employed by Lord Hunsdon as a ſecret courier to James VI.

that yf yt towcht no way hyr Maiefty, nor too preiudyfe me hys mafty, he wold tell hym trewly. Wherapon the King askt hym that queftyan; wherapon he anferde that, as he wolde be fauyd at the day of Iudgment, he neuer delyuerde halpeny or penny, more or les, or any thyng els, from me but letters. So as euen they aboute the King wolde fayne putt th'Erle owt of favor yf they cowlde by any practyfe; for then had they no obftacle too make hym follow hys Mothers deuyfys, and too worke hym for France or Spayne, as I thynke Mr Daufon hathe fuf-fycyently aduertifyd, for fo he promefte me too doo. Fentry,¹ who is aboute the King, hathe byn very ernest with hym to fend to hyr Maiefty about Cryhton,² who ys yn the Towar, comendynge hym aboue the fkyfe; who anferd hym, that yf he hymfelfe hade any credyt too doo what he thowght goode, but he wolde neuer fende aboute fuche a knaue, lett her Maiefty hang hym yf fhe wyll; and fewrly that Kryghton knowfe mucche yf ytt may be gotten owt of hym. Therle of Arren fent me, by my mane, ferten artycles byfor the Master of Gray comes, of which I fende your Lordfhyp the coppy, too be eufyd as your Lordfhyp fhall thynk fytt. Your Lordfhyp may make hyr Maiefty acquayntyd with fume of them that maye be wrytten owte, butt nott with the hole. The King ys very defyrus to haue me ther, as your Lordfhyp fhall fee by a poftte fkypte, whyche he has wrytten yn the letter he fent me: 'My Lorde, for wayghtj cawfys, as thys bearar wyll acquainte you wyth, I muftte defier you, as ye tender my contentmente and weyle, and your honore, too ryde vpp immediatly after thys forfayd bearar too courte. I dowght nott but whane he fhawfe you the cawfe, ye wyll kepe yt too yourfelfe only.' Thys matter I dare nott comytt too wrytynge, yett I wyll fende hyr Maiefty my letter, and kepe the coppy, fo as fhe fhall fe the poftte fkypt, and feurly, my Lord, I thynke I shoulde doo hyr Maiefty better feruice there then here, he beyng comandyd too eufe my aduyfe yn all hys negocyacyons, and I cowlde fune be ther yn poftte, with halfe a dosen with me. Thys bearar fhall tell of fume of thes matters at more lengthe, and what your Lordfhyp fhall comande and dyrecte hym too doo, he fhall, and fhall deale with

¹ David Graham of Fintry.

² William Crichton, a trafficking Jesuit, who was imprisoned for a plot against Queen Elizabeth.

nobody else. Thus, hauynge byn too tedyus too your Lordshyp, I comytt ye too th'Almyghty. At Berwyke the 19 of October, 1584.

Your Lordshyps affured too comande,
H. HUNSDON.

I haue thowght goode to fende your Lordshyp the coppy of my letter too therle of Arren 4 dayfe byfor the Master of Grayfe cumynge, when I thowghte he shoulde nott a cume, wheryn he thowght fume vnkyndnes yn me, that wolde mystruste eyther the King or hym of playne dealyng.

LORD BURGHELEY TO LORD HUNSDON. OCTOBER 1584.¹

MY VERY GOOD LORD. The Master of Gray hath, since his arivall, had two awdiencies, the one on Sounday last, which was spent for the most parte in ceremonys; th'other yisterday, wherein he did but in effect vrge her Maiefty to restore unto the King his masters hands, the noblemen his subiects fled into this realme: Which motion hir Maiefty did seme vtterly to have no likeinge of, beinge perfwaded, in her conscience, that those gentlemen had neuer had any evill meennings towards the person of the Kinge, and that such attempts as haue fallen out in Scotland, haue only proceeded of the particular devifions and parties that haue taken foote amongst the noblemen of that realme, by reason of the minoritye of the Kinge, which he shuld rather seke to extinguish, and to vnite his whole nobilitye in a comon concurrencie to doe him seruice, then make himself a partye in any faction, which cannot breed but very dangerous effects. And for asmuch as he made daintye to discouer any thinge of the special purpose of his comeinge, which her Maiefty concewied was for the openinge of some matter concerning the perill of her estate, she did not forbear to let him perceauie pat she was offended withall.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 129, fol 157.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES NEGOCIACION. NOVEMBER 1584.¹

THE Notes presented by PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, Ambassadour for the Kings Maiestye of Scotland in the realme of England, drawn furth of his generall instruccions, and geuen to Sir Francis Walsingham, principall Secretarye to her Maiesty, to be advised vpon by whome it shall please her Highnes to appoint.

FIRST. Theis frequent incurfions, depredacions, reafinge of fire, and inaccustomed ridinge of the Wardens of this realme, with fouldiers and men vnder paye, in hostile manner, within the bounds of Scotlande, hath caused the inhabitantis of boeth the realmes vpon the frontyers rather to fear further hostilitie and open invasion, then maintenance of quietnes. If it shalbe her Maiestys pleasure to entertaine the happie peace, it appeares to be expidient, that this apprehencion should be removed furth of her subiectis minds with fpede, before it should produce any further inconvenience.

SECONDLIE. The greate spoyles by fea, and rapt of goodis taken from the states of merchauntis, that continually cry to the King and counsell, that they may be helped to the restitution of their goodis, or otherwise licenced to take so much as they haue lost, which, if he should permitt, would, within short tyme, gener confusion and farther inconvenience. It hath moved the King, my Soueraigne, earnestly to desire that some spedie order may be giuen for avoydeinge of all farther inconvenience in tyme to come, and the goodis taken may be restored. Whatfoeuer good order shalbe geuen within her Maiestys dominyons, for remediege of the premises, the like shalbe performed in Scotland.

THIRDLIE. The receauinge of certayne declared rebellis, against the King my masters authoritye, fugitiues from the lawes of Scotland, within

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 130, fol. 157.

this realme, and entertheyneinge of them fo nere vnto the frontyers, contrary to the treatye of peace, ioyned also to th'afforesaid disorders, has giuen occasion to the Kinge my master and his counsell to doubt if they shall loke for happie quietnes, or further hostilitie.

FOURTHLIE. Since my departure from Scotland, beinge here in dealeinge for peace, such attemptats hath bene comitted vpon the Borders by her Maiestys officers, that it hath so confirmed all men in evill opinions, and so wounded the minds of the best forte, that they cannot imagine what shalbe th'ende.

ITEM. My abode here hath bene longer then I looked for, and if any further tyme should be protracted for treating of euery particuler matter, it would be more then the Kinge my master, (who lately hath comaunded me to returne with speede), would well like of. Therefore, I have taken occasion and boldnes, for furtheringe of my returneinge, and that some good may be effected for intertheyneinge of good intelligence and quietnes betwixt the realmes, to make overture of theis equitable remedies followinge, which I craue may presently be performed, or otherwise, with reason and equitye, answered; promiseing also, that what foeuer good order shalbe devised and performed here, for th'accomplishment hereof, shall haue the like correspondence in Scotland; most humbly craueing, that this my too great boldnes, proceedinge from good meaninge, may be accepted in good parte.

THE REMEDIES.

INPRIMIS. For removeinge of all ieaioussie or suspicion of warre from the mindis of the people and inhabitants of both the realms, it appeareth to be expedient that a proclamacion should be made foe fully certifienge the subiectis, of the good intelligence betwixt the Princes, and of the mutuall good meaneinge for entertheyne of peace and quietnes, betwixt them and their realmes.

SECONDLIE. That comaundment may be giuen in boeth the realmes,

that the Wardens of all þe Marches may meete with convenient spede, euery one with the oppofsite warden, to giue and receaue iuftice to all complainers, in any matter that wardens hath bene in vfe to procede vpon in any tyme heretofore.

THIRDLIE. That the fubiectis may remayne in full hope to receaue an effectuall iuftice of all and fundry attemptis that hath bene comitted heretofore, it appeareth to be expedient, that one certaine tyme fhuld be appointed for meteinge of Commiffioners, hauing full power to minifter iuftice to all people and inhabitantis, vpon what foueuer iniuftice they fhall haue occafion to complain.

FOURTHLIE. As the fpecialtyes of this generall order appeareth to produce good effectis vpon the Bordours, fo appeareth it to be convenient that fome good order may be provided for the ftayeinge of piracy, which appeareth may be provided by ginging of ordours, that in all the portis and havens of both the realmes, no fhip fhallbe fuffered to departe, vnles they giue caution that all freindis and confederatis fhall remaine indamnified; and this caution, fo found, to be anfwerable to all intereffet, in kace of contrauencion. And in like manner, who foeuer fauours, fupportis, or affifteth to any pirate, which are amongs all nations reputed *hostes publici*, fhall incurre the like payne as the pirate fhould haue done, afwell in reftitution of goodis as punifhment of bodie.

ITEM. For attemptis, raptis by fea, and fpoliacion comitted in tymes pafte, endureing the minoritye of my Soueraigne, and vnto this tyme, which are cumand, by continuance of evill doinge and for long fufferaunce, without payment or punifhment, to large fumes of money, and the greater hath bene the occafion of harme, by reason that the partye that fustayneth the lofe could not at all tymes come here for obteyneinge of iuftice, whereby the principall committers of the delict hath eyther efaped long tyme without creauinge, and fo thereby his fault put in obliuyon, or otherwife committed newe errorrs: for effectinge of the precedenis, or therefore punifh or otherwife fugitiue, whereby the perfons damnified may be in danger

to lose ther whole goodis of fortune, without some good equitable order may be provided, which appereth may be performed in this manner followeing. The spoliacion and wronges done by sea beinge greater, and the fumes obteyned by sentences and probacion be apparent also to growe to greater, I haue power sufficient to bringe the whole to a reasonable composition of some speciall fume, which may be paid by some spedie order to be devised, and thereafter recovered by th' order of fines set downe by her Maiesty for that effect.

FIFTHLIE, Seinge that by no persuation I can move her Maiesty, at this tyme, to make deliury of the fugitivis and rebellis aforesaid, according to the treaty of peace, it appeareth at the least, for some parte of satisfaccion of the King my masters suty, to be expedient, that her Maiestye should remove them presently from the Bordours, not onely to avoyde trafiqueinge against his Maiestys estate and person, but also to seclude all apparent suspicion thereof; whereby the King my master may remaine in hope to move her Maiestye to consider better hereof at some tyme hereafter.

LAST, It appeareth that the King my master should receaue better contentment of her Maiestys proceedings, if he should be satisfied by solide reasons, vpon what grounds this invsitate forme of dooinge and hostile invacion, that hath bene comitted vpon the Borders, within Lidesdale, since my departure, doth procede. The reason thereof may be vnderstud, by this compleynt presented to the Counsell of Scotland by Martine Elliot,¹ whereof please receaue the copie.

ITEM, In like manner, I recommend to your Honours memory the notes giuen to Mr William Daidson, at the tyme of his beinge in Scotland, vpon the Lord Scroope, warden of the west Marches, for diuers offences alleged comitted by him, or at his comaund at least, vpon the inhabitantis of the west Marches of Scotland.

¹ Martin Elliot, a noted Border freebooter.

THE MANNER OF PROCEEDINGES WITH THE MASTER OF GRAY,
AND NAU.¹

THE heads of the motions to be made vnto her Maiefty.

THE MASTER OF GRAY.

What answere to his
propositions. { 1. To stay attempts Bordours.
2. The removeinge of the distressed Noblemen.
3. Satisfaccion spoyled by sea.
4. The late enterprife against Martine Elwood.

To stay the forces demaunded by Sarle Boye.
Mr Coluill to be sent to the Noblemen with reliefe.

MONSIEUR NAU.²

Some to be appointed to treat and to resolve vpon the Articles.

The Articles being agreed on, Nau to be returned, and vpon knowledge of the Queene by takeing of them, Commissioners may be sent thither with authoritye to conclude.

Nau to be sent first into Scotlande to deale with the Kinge for his assent.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR. { 1. To ioyne in triple legation.
2. To move that he might be sent into Scotlande.

1. Protestacion, sinceare dealeinge.
2. Make tryall of Naus voyage into Scotlande.
3. Keepe secreet assurance giuen by them to the Queen.
4. Letters charge Master of Gray importunacy, Rebels before Counsell.
5. Charge Master of Gray before Counsell.
6. Letters Arrane.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 133, fol. 160.

² Mons. Nau, French Secretary to Queen Mary, by whom he had, at this time, been sent to negotiate with Queen Elizabeth. See his propositions, and Elizabeth's answers, in the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland, No. 44.

THE LORDS OF THE COUNSELLS ANSWER TO CERTAINE NOTES PRO-
FOUNDED BY THE MASTER OF GRAY, AMBASSADOUR.¹

THE Queens Maieftye, beinge willing to yeld contentment vnto the King her good brother, and to avoyd the inconvenience that may fall out, by the daylie fpoyles comitted vpon the Borders of eyther realme, hath comand-ed that present order fhalbe giuen vnto the Wardens, for the ftay of all attemptis and incurfions to be hereafter made vpon any of the fubiects of the faid Kings inhabeitants vpon the Borders, in hope that the faid King, as his Ambaffadour hath promifed, will take the like order for the oppo-fite Borders of Scotland. And in cafe the Wardens of Scotland would, according to th'offers fvdry tymes made by her Maieftys Wardens, haue vndertaken to haue yelded fatiffaccion for fuch fpoyles, as were often tymes orderly demanded according to the treaties, thofe late incurfions and fpoyles, done in hostile forte, had not bene committed. For the avoyd-eing whereof in tyme to come, her Maieftye hath willed, that present order fhalbe giuen that her Wardens fhall meete more frequently with the oppofite Wardens of that realme, then of late yeres they haue done, though indeede by the default of the Wardens of Scotland, with exprefe comaundment to yeld fatiffaccion for fuch fpoyles and attemptis as boeth haue and fhallbe hereafter comitted, according to the treatyes. And doeth further alfo asent, that for fuch caufes of difficultyes as cannot conve-niently receaue ordinary redrefse by the wardens, the fame fhallbe referred over to be heard and determyned by efpeciall comiffioners, to be chofen by boeth their Maiefties.

And for the removeinge of the ieloufie that is, by the Ambaffadours reporte, conceaued by the fubiectis of boeth realmes through late incurfions and fpoyles that haue bene on boeth fides, and no redrefse yelded by ordinarye iuftice, that this hard and violent courfe may in th'ende breake out into fome publique and open hofilitye, her Maieftye will caufe it, out of hands, to be notified to her faid fubiectis dwellinge vpon the Borderis

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 131, fol. 158.

by proclamacion, how defireous she is that the good amitye betwene the Kinge and her shall continue. And leaft there should growe any interrupcion thereof, by the particuler revenges that are daylie taken, which cannot otherwyse be avoyded, that boeth her Maieftys and the Kings meaneinge is, that by more frequent meteing of the Wardens, then of late yeares there hath bene, there may redresse be made according to ordinary course of iustice agreeable with the treaties.

Touching the spoyles of late yeres, said to be comitted by sea, vpon the subiectis of the said King by certaine English Pirates, her Maieftye hath alwayes offred, as also performed, on her behalf, aswell by proceedinge, accordinge to the ordinary course of iustice, against such as haue comitted the said spoyles, as also in causeinge restitution to be made of such goodis, as haue bene duly proved to appertaine to any of the Kinges subiectis, wherefoeuer they haue bene found, which is as much as ane Prince is bound to performe by the lawe of nacions. And yet, to make her good will, boeth to the King and his subiectis more apparent, she hath not onely extended an extraordinary fauour to the said Kings subiectis, aboue all other Princes subiectis her neighbouris, by yeldinge vnto them towardis their satisfaccion the benefiet of all such mulctis and fines as haue bene generally imposed vpon such as haue bene found to be eyther adyris or abettours of pirates, but hath also extended her liberalitey vnto divers of the said realme, that haue bene recomended vnto her by the said Kinge, in respect of such loses, as they pretended to haue sustayned, without infistinge vpon such exact proufe of their loses, as by ordinary course of iustice is requyred. And as to urging such others, as haue made due proufe thereof before the ordinarye judge of this realme, for many causes of such loses as they haue sustayned, and haue not as yet receaued any satisfaccion, there shalbe order giuen, that such persons, as by the same proufis shalbe any way found culpable, shall yeld satisfaccion, so farre furth as may stand with the lawes of this realme. And although no further matter may be craved at her Maieftys handis, by any order of iustice, then is conteyned in the said answere, yet her Maiesty, vpon the speciall consideracion and care she hath to gratifie the King, is pleased to continewe the imployeing of the benefiet of the said mulctis and fines

imposed vpon delinquentis, that otherwise shuld growe to her owne cofers, vpon such of the said subiects as shalbe recomended vnto her, from tyme to tyme, by the said Ambaffadour, in hope that he will procure the like iustice to be done to the subiectis of this realme, that haue bene lately spoyled by Scottish Pirates, as by a note thereof deliuered to him may appere. And as touchinge the requestis for order to be giuen in the portis for such stay of pirates, both her Maiefty hath already had, and also will hereafter haue, such care the order be kept, as is desired.

As touchinge the recepcion of such, as the said Ambaffadour tearmeth declared rebellis and traytours, (a matter he hath aboue all other so vehemently profecuted), her Maiefty protesteth, that if she thought them guilty of any intent any wayes to attemptat any thinge against the Kings owne person, she would not onely haue forborne to haue suffred them to come within any her dominyons, but would haue proceded against them with all feueritye, as against such as shuld haue sought to attempt any thinge against her owne person. But beinge perfwaded, as she is in her owne conscience, vpon many circumstances, that the matters, wherewith the King chargeth them, hath proceded onely of particuler quarrellis and foodes betwene them and other subiectis in that realme; a thinge that hath fallen comonly out in the minoritye of younge kingis, when, for laik of absolute authoritye, subiectis doe enter into their particuler revenges, not submittinge themselves to ordinarye course of iustice; and yet notwithstanding, for the removeinge of the iealousies that the Kinge, her good brother, hath conceaued through their aboade so nere his frontyers, her Maiestye will giue present order for their remoue from thence to some such place as shall avoyde all suspicion, where they shalbe also advised to remaine in quiet sorte, vntill such tyme as her Maiestye shall vnderstand the Kinges further meaneinge touchinge the said lordis, from the said Ambaffadour.

Lastlie, touchinge Martin Elwoods late informacion, the act whereof he complayneth hath bene done by the two Wardens of the west and middle Marches, without eyther direction or privitye of her Maiestys self, or of her Privye Counsell. Yet the said Wardens, vpon some doubt conceaued that some informacion would be giuen against them, haue offred

to iustifie their doeings, as conftreyned thereto of neceffity, through diuers and fondry fpoyles comitted vpon her Maieftys fubiectis, within her feuerall wardenryes, by the faid Martin and his afociates, beinge a principall maintaynour of all difordered perfons, whereof no redrefe could be obteyned, though the fame was, by the faid Wardens, demaunded: notwithstandinge, fuch is her Maieftys care to fatisfie the King, as fhe is content that, at the next intended meteinge of the comiffioners, the faid attempt nowe compleyned of fhallbe boethe examined and ordered by them.

ANSWERS TO CERTAINE PROPOSITIONS AND REQUESTS
OF THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

IMPRIMIS, as concerninge the Articles, creaveinge the reftitucion of goodis taken by English Piratis, which are founded vpon certayne decretis obteyned, and proban deduced, before competent iudges of this realme, it is moſte certaine that amongſt all nations pyratis are accompted *hoſtes publicj*, and therefore ſhould be puniſhed accordinglie, if they can be comprehended, and the goodis ſpoyled by them, whereſoeuer it can be founde, ſhuld be reſtored; which her Maieſtye hath not onely performed to the ſubiectis of the realme of Scotland, but alſo of her owne proper goodis, hath bountifully, with out any proban deducet, or any forme of proceeding by order of iuſtice vſed, cauſed ſatiſfaccioun to be made to diuers inhabitantis of that realme, which is more then of iuſtice could haue bene craued. And yet notwithstanding, if any ſubiectis of that realme ſhall haue to complaine of any iniuſtice, vpon ſpeciall informacion giuen thereof, equitable order ſhalbe giuen for their ſatiſfaccion, accordinge to iuſtice.

As concerninge any decretis alledged obteyned and not ſatiſfied, if that any ſuch decretis ſhalbe produced againſt any ſpeciall perfons, the ſaid ſhall

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 132, fol. 159. As this and the preceding article vary in ſeveral particulars, it has been thought adviſable to print both, it being doubtful which of them was the answer finally given to the Notes of the Master of Gray.

haue full execucion againſt all ſuch perſons that are conteyned therein, their whole goodis and poſſeſſions made ſtringzeable to the parties, or their lawfull factors, obteyners of the ſaid decret, and their bodies made puniſhable, yf they may be comprehended.

Albeit, no further can be craued by any order of iuſtice nor is conteyned in this aforeſaid anſwere, yet her Maieſtye, vpon ſpeciall care and conſideration moveinge her Maieſty, for the relievinge of the ſubiectis of that countrey that hath bene troubled by Pirates, hath giuen ſpeciall order, that certaine fine or taxation ſhould be levyed of her owne proper ſubiectis, by the order whereof diuers complainers of that realme has already bene relieved, which good ordour her Maieſtye, at the deſire of the ſaid Maſter, ſhall cauſe be continued with expedicion poſſible. And whatſoeuer ſume ſhalbe hereby recovered, ſhalbe diſpoſed to ſuch diſtreſſed perſons as ſhalbe comended by the ſaid Ambaſſadour aforeſaid, and to none others. Her Maieſty craves the like iuſtice may be done to the ſubiectis of this realme, ſpoyled by the Scottis Piratis, whereof there is great number of complainers, as more particuler wilbe vnderſtood by their ſeuerall complaintis giuen to the Ambaſſadour herevpon.

As touchinge the recepcion of ſuch as the ſaid Ambaſſadour termes declared rebells and traytours, which matters aboue all others is ſo vehemently profecuted, her Maieſty proteſted, &c.

And yet notwithstanding, for removeinge of all iealouſie from her brother the Kinge of Scotlande his minde, of any their ill behaiour, through remayneinge on the frontyer, ſuch order ſhalbe giuen, that with ſpeed they ſhalbe retyred ſo farre within this realme, that all ſuſpicion therof ſhalbe avoyded, there to remaine vnto ſuch tyme that further order may be taken thereanent, according to the ſinceritye of the ſaid Kinge her brother his meaneinge towardis her Maieſtye, and the certifficacion thereof to be made to her Maieſtye by the ſaid Ambaſſadour.

As touchinge Martine Alletts late complaint. The Wardens of the Marches, without knowledge of her Maieſtye, or adviſe of her counſell, conſtrayned through neceſſitye, as appeares to haue remedied diuers inſolencies comitted vpon the ſubiectis of Englande by the ſaid Martine, who is a greate author and mayntayner of diſordered perſons, aſſembled them-

felues together, in no such great power as is alledged, and fought the said Martine to his owne howse, where, we are informed, no great harme is done, and if any extraordinary hurte or skaythe be comitted, the Comissioners, which shalbe ordeyned to mete, may haue power to take order thereanent, according to the lawes of the Borders.

NOTES REGARDING THE MASTER OF GRAY'S PRACTICES AGAINST
QUEEN ELIZABETH.¹

THAT the Master of Gray hath bene priuie to some of the late practises, forreine and domesticall, against her Maiestie, in fauor of the Scottish Quene, as may be probably coniectured by,

1. His inward familiaritye and continuall traffique in France with those of the house of Gwife, of whome he hath receaued extraordinary favour;—the Bishops of Glasco² and Rosse,³ by whose means, it is reported, he tasted of the Popes bounty;—the Spanish Ambassador resident in France, of whome, as himself is said to haue confessed, he was at his comeinge out of France presented with a cupboard of plate valued to 5 or 6000 crownes.

2. His like continewall intelligence with other her Maiesties coniuured enemyes and rebellious subiectis, as Morgan,⁴ and others, and fugitives there.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 137, fol. 163.

² James Bethune was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow in 1552, and held the See till the Reformation, when he retired to France, and was afterwards appointed Queen Mary's ambassador at the French Court.

³ John Lesley was inducted to the See of Ross in 1566.

⁴ Thomas Morgan, one of Queen Mary's secretaries, whom she sent into France as the receiver of the rents of her dowry there. Morgan, in a letter to Queen Mary, 9th April 1585, thus writes regarding his correspondence with the Master of Gray.—“Now that Gray hath, I heare, dishonorably acquitted himselfe of your Majesty's service, there be some instrumentes that lay to me, that I procured his credit here, and with your Majesty he was commended out of Scotland by Father Holt, to some others of that Societie here, who gave him all the credit they cold to the Duke of Guise; and my Lord of Glasgo entertayned Gray with great respect of him, and all matters were to him imparted, God is my witnesse, never by me, but he colde tell me many particulars, which when I hearde, I was sorry

3. The speciall recomendacions giuen of him by the Scottis Quene to the King her sonne, and his favour and credite with him in the present revolucion and change of thingis there.

4. The speciall trust reposed in him before some others her approved servantis, in the kepeinge and dispenfing of the money brought home by Ballandine, a little before the late Road of Sterlinge, to such vses as were deffigned by her and her instruments in France.

5. The good offices he hath done since his returne into Scotland in her favour, and furtherance of hir purpofes.

6. His reception and enterteynement of Nugent the Irish fugitive with his companyon, retyred of late into Scotland, specially recommended and addressed to him, and harboured in his fathers house; with the like reception giuen to Fulgiambe his companion, now fugitives.

7. His confessed relievinge of Fulgiambe with 300 crownes out of his store, by the Scottish Quenes direction. With other like particularities, which may suffice to prove boeth the mans former affections towardis her Maiestie and her state, howfoeuer he be now enclyned, and his ablenes, in some degrees, to discover *le pot aux roses*, if he list to speake plaine language.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.¹

MADAME, to fullfill the promise I made in my last lettre unto your Maiefty, I have written the present at length, although with regret, for the great

to heare that the same were so dispersed; and thereof I advertised your Majesty, testifying the devotion he shewed to have to your Majesty's service. And indeede I thought that a gentleman of his qualite and religion cold never so ingratefullye and undutifully forget himselfe towardes his Soverayne Ladye and Mistresse; and so I hope your Majesty will not impute to me anye blame for his lewde parts, whereof he shall heare at my handes if I live to speake with him."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 442.

¹ Harl. MSS. No. 290, fol. 146. This letter is subscribed in cypher, and indorsed 'A cōpye of A.B. letter unto M.S.' But it bears internal evidence of being from the Master of Gray.

good will which I have borne ever to your service, since I was of age to know my duty, maketh me greatly to lament that all my meaning should be construed wrong. This I speak not without a great ground: For that same man Fontinie,¹ whom it pleased your Maiefty to recomend unto me in your last letter, hath used himselfe so undutifully to me, that I cannot imagine he durst have enterprised the same, without speciall commandement from youe, as he effect hath declared. For he did shew unto pe Kings Maiefty a letter which he said was written by youe, wherein was contayned a counsell and advise pat his Maiefty should not trust or confide any wayes in me, by reason that youe were assuredly perswaded, and had truly learned, that I had turned my cloke, and had taken another course, pe which, if his Maiefty should follow, it should be bothe his ruine and your owne. This letter it pleaseth his Maiefty to shew unto me, because he had no suspicion in any sort of me, feing he knew best what I ever said unto him, or what course I had counselled him to follow. Madame, if this letter were written by your Maiefty, I esteeme my good will very evile requited, and the recompence of my more earnest meaning unto your service very badd; for although it had ben so, yet your Maiefty should first have written the truth, and advertised myself, and if youe had found it, then to have used pe next meane, and not, without all evident apparance, to have pressed so to disgrace me to my Master: Yet, Madame, I have such confidence in your wisdom, pat I perswade myselfe pe letter was the knaves owne invencion. If so it was that your Maiefty knew not of it, I beseech your Maiefty that I may have reason of him, and that your Maiefty write unto all your frends in France, and to your Ambassadour, the very truth of thinges; for I know there are advertisements very falsely spread of me, both forth of this country and Scotlande. I think your Maiefty will the rather do this, pat some injury he hath donne unto your Maiestys owne service. For indeed I thought my service worth litle, if it deserved not thanckes; and I assure your Maiefty, unto the tyme I receive your promise, that this youe shall performe in effect, I will, in no sorte, medle with any thing that appertayneth to

¹ Fontenay was one of Queen Mary's French secretaries. He was banished Scotland for calumniating the Master of Gray.—See letter in this collection, p. 41.

your service; besides, that ever I shall accompt myself an example to all men, to be over frank in dealing in it. If it be indeede, þat the letter was written by yourself, I accompt myself very ungratfully used, (if so be a poore subject may capitulate with his prince,) and in that the yong man not in any fort to have fayled, feing what he did was donne by your commandement. Of force I must needs comport; yet shall not leave to do þe generall, which duty commanded me to do; but one thing I sweare, that if it might advantage me ten millions of gold, and disadvantage me my head, þat never, while I live, shall I medle with any your service in perticuler; and comit to this paper to dischardg me wholly of it in tyme to come. As I have already said, [if the letter] were not written at your Maieftys commandement, I crave only at this tyme your Maieftys promise þat for the weale of your owne affaires, I may have reason of the knave who did þe wrong. How ever it was, I esteeme myselfe very evill handeled, that your Maiefty should preferre þe advertisement of a pratling knave, to the experience youe have already had of my good will to þe advancement and well doing of your affaires. I marvaile greatly, (with many others), that your Maiefty ever employed such a fantastique creature, who is neyther wise, secreat, nor experienced, feing youe had a sufficient prouf how he was accompted of in Spaine, and what fruct he reported of his negociacion. For my owne part, at this tyme, I shew him freely I would in no wyfe deale with him, and assured him his owne insufficiency would be the cause his negociacion would take litle or no effect; for there was no man whosoever about þe King, whome he touched not with his misreports, and honor and reputacion, and myself in diverse wayes, as in alleaging that I had receaved a thousand rose nobles from the Queene of England. This his Maiefty did show me, in his owne face, who, knowing his owne unhoneft dealing, asked me pardon for it, simply without any excuse; þe which he dare not deny, if so it shall please your Maiefty to ask of him. This, Madame, is the very truth of his deportemente in Scotland, and the only occasion why he proffited nothing there; and if it had not ben for that respect which I did beare unto your Maiefty, and that he was a straunger, in recompence of that he misused me, I should have cutt both his eares. There is another gentleman in Scotland equall with

this in wysedome, and nothing inferior in pratling, who hath, in lyke manner, written sinistrously of me to the Bishopp of Glasquo, and þe Jesuists. The man is yong Fintry. But your Maiefty knoweth that he came into Scotland only to be at their devocion, without any perticuler respect eyther to your Maiestys affaires, or the King my master. But I hope at my returne, I shall do good will to pay him home againe, and fend him the way he came. I care no thing his misreporting to those people, for it is long since I did write unto your Maiefty that I would in no sort follow their advise in thinges, for I knew them to be very perticuler to them selves, respecting no thing els but their owne advancement in greatnes and creadit without þe world. Therefore, Madame, although I love my religion as well as any Jesuist, or other Priest in Europe, I shall beseech your Maiefty not to follow any more their violent counsell. Albeit your Maiefty writs that nothing shall cause the Queen of England do more willingly then feare, yet this feare would be joyned with lenity and friendship, for this Counsell here is not so bairnely, but they can very well distinguish feare in mouthes, from that which hath great appearance, and are not to be afrayde of wordes. And for my owne part I see not þe appearance þat shall affray them, nor yet the effect, and to speak truly I have given the Kings Maiefty this counsell, that he leane not any way to forrayne ayde, feing the furthest ever I did yet see exceeded not faire promises. And this, Madame, if eyther youe or he leane to, it may deceave youe. Therefore, Madame, þe same counsell I give unto your Maiefty, and beseeche youe remark it well, feeinge þe end of your defeigne is to be successor to þe Crowne of Englande, my opinion is, that all violent courses are injurie unto it, in two respects. The first, if youe should pretend any violence against þe prince þat now reigneth, it were enough to animate so þe subiects hearts against youe, that with great paine should they ever acknowledge any of youe for their prince, expecting the lyke violence to be used against þemselves, having ben faithfull subiects in her tyme; and it is not unknowen unto your Maiefty what feare they have of this kind of violence in this contry, for the which cause they have instituted their new affociacion, and so farre as I can learn, the people is very willing to imbrace it. I will not insist

any more to discourse of it, feing youe have already seene it. The second respect, I take it from the people, who being the only louers of peace, shall ever be enemy to all, who, in any sort, by any kind of meanes, or violent course, shall alter or disturbe their common tranquillity, feing pat spoyle them of their geire. Therefore, Madame, as I shall answere, first to God, and next unto be King my master, and your Maiefty, my opinion is, that youe follow some solide, calme and quiet course, as most advantageous for the accompyshment of your desseigne, and that in effect your Maiefty take with the Queen of England some honest, frendly, and quiet dres, to be end pat during her lyfe, without all jalousie, she possesse that which hath ben provided to her by God, and if so it please him, after her, your Maiefty and the King your sonne may enter with contentment, both to yourselves and your subjects, into a peacable kingdome. Your Maiefty may object, that in all overtures friends are to be retayned. I assent very well to that, but these frends must be others then forrayners, although I will grant that forraine frends are not to be trayned, but entertayned in very honorable termes. But the frends that shalbe most sure, are the subjects of Scotlande. And for this cause, Madame, I shall ever give the Kings Maiefty counsell to entertaine a firm and settled quietnes in his owne country, with his owne and among his owne subjects, and to quenche all trifle particulars, feing they may be impeachment of his further weale and greater comodity. This farre, Madame, I have written, to be end your Maiefty may know be King your sonnes will and intencion, and the occasion of my voyage, not to have proceeded uppon such grounds as are containd in this your last letter, for, I assure youe I shall never be the instrument of any feperacion or division betwene youe and the Kings Maiefty your sonne, and this I will professe in presence of all Scotlande and England. As for the Earle of Arran, or any his accions, I will not answere. And thinck not, Madame, that I eyther follow or haud on him, or any other subject in Scotlande or England, but that I accompt myself in fellowship with be best. And yet, Madame, as I write unto youe oft before, I cannot perceave the Earle of Arran to be enemy in your Maiestys affaires. To be plaine with your Maiefty, the King my master hath not

given unto me commandment to deale in all things conjointly, as if the associacion were perfected in effect, but yet his will is, that I do for your Maiefty in all things that may tend to your weale and contentment; but of truth, (saying better advise), it is more fitt for your Maiefty that the King enter into solide frendship with þe Queen of England particularly, and then to dresse for youe, as his Mother, with her who then shalbe his frende. And thincke not, Madame, þe Kingis Maiefty to be so barnelike, that faire offers, without the apparant effect to follow, shall content him, as that I, his messager, am so destitute of good reason, that I cannot very well decerne the shadow from the verity. Uppon this, Madame, with all diligence I crave your answere.

Nowe rests to shew your Maiefty, that I have had conference with Monsieur de Maluifer,¹ whome I finde to be the same man your Maiefty declar-eth him to be. Emong other conference he asked me, whether it were true that Fontaine had said to the King my master, that he was altogether affected to the Queen of England, and that his Maiefty should not trust in him. In this I shewed him the very truth, and it was, that Fontaine did speake it to þe King. In this, Madame, I esteeme him as evill handeled as my self, for I have ever perceaved hitherto by his letteris, and now by him self, that he is no lesse willing to see as good successe of your Maiestys affaires, and the King your fonnes, then if he were your owne naturall subject. Therefore, as I desire for myself, so desire I that he may be satisfied, and prayeth, that hereupon I may have your Maiestys answere, for I beleeve it shall not be permitted that at this tyme I shall see your Maiefty, but I shall assay to have lycence to one of the gentlemen who are here with me, to visite your Maiefty on the Kings Maiestys part and my owne. I thank your Maiefty most humbly, that youe have written to þe King my master, in favour of suche as I

¹ Michael de Castelneau, or Chateauneuff, Seigneur de Malvissier, the French ambassador at the English court. Through him the partizans of Queen Mary appear to have corresponded with her Majesty. "The Bishop of Glasco receaved not three dayes agoe a paoquett from Mauvessier; though theie have no good opinion of Mauvessier's sufficiency, yet theie keepe in with him, and serve theire turns of him, and, in my opinion, theie have their intelligence to and from the Queen of Scotts by his meanes. Howe he getteth ytt to and from her I knowe not."—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 410.

did recomend unto youe. But as for Causalyn, I never intended to place him in any farther estate with the Kings Maiefty, then to serue him as a generall Secretary, for there is no man more scrupulous to committ great affaires to petty companions then I am. Uppon the report that the last yere Mr Archibald Dowglas¹ was imprisoned, for having negotiated in your Maieftys affaires, and for that I understand he followeth no course offensive to the King my master, I have privily spoken with him, and finde him a very honest, wyfe man. As for the changing of your Ambassadour in France, it shalbe best the Kings Maiefty be first acquainted with it, to the end the next man be chofen to his contentment. And I esteeme it shalbe very hard to find any worthy for it, yet the best is to be chofen.

Claude Hamilton² is already gone into Scotland, to the great discontentment of all the Kings rebelles and enemies, where he keepeth himselfe quiet. Your Maieftys man, litle William Dowglas, is lately departed into France, and hath left affygation to the two thousand franks he hath lying on bank in Paris. The Laird of Eifter Weymes, who hath come hither out of France, hoping to have obteyned lycence to have spoken with your Maiefty, but that was refused him. So I will request your Maiefty in his favour, that the will of the dead be kept unto him, and that no other prevent him at your Maieftys hands; and in recompence I hope he shall do youe good service. Your Maiefty shall excuse me that I request for my frends, for I shall never request for my self, untill it shall please God to putt youe in better estate. As for other thingis contayned in your Maieftys letter, which presently I will not specifie, I shall not faile, God willing, to accomplish them to your Maieftys contentment. For, as I have already donne, (if I shalbe well used), I shall never spare lyfe nor geere in all your Maieftys honest accions, and this your Maiefty shall trust and perswade your selfe, ever till be effect declare be contrary. I have written the present in Scottish, and in open

¹ Mr Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow. Many of his letters to the Master and others will be found in this collection.

² Lord Claude Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, fourth son of James second Earl of Arran.

letter, because of þe fure conveyance, but the next shalbe more short and secreat, because that my hand writing is knowen in this Court. I beleive your Maiefty shall with difficulty read this counterfait scribbling. So, ceasing to importune your Maiefty with tedious discourse, after having most humbly kissed your Maiestys hands, I pray God, Madame, to send youe a long and happy lyfe, with better health and greater contentment then hitherto. At London, 22 of November, 1584.

DE VRE Δ

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MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

GRAY, si ces seruices et bons offices, lesquels vous m'auez toufiours offertz, meuz (Je croye) par vray conscience et cognoissance de deuoir vers vostre Royne et mère de vostre Maistre, par elle receu en pareille dignité comme son vnique enfant et cher heritier, ne m'eussent pouffée à vous recommander comme jeune homme de bonne race et de recommandables vertus, Je pense que vous pourriez plus aisément vous laisser aller, comme jeune, aux persuasions de ceux qui ne désirent que leur particulier commodité, négligent ne bien publique et seruices de leurs Maistres. Mais comme en cela vous prétendez que tort vous vous est faict, faictes premier paroistre vos effectz sincères, et sans particularité, considérant que c'est qu'importe le denier de ce, que mon fils a accepté de moy, vous le sçaez Je croy, sinon J'ay de quoy le monstrier et assez des témoins au besoing. Mais ja à Dieu ne plaife, que mon fils fust si mal conseillé de me contraindre à cela, vous deuiez parlant à moy de la part de mon fils, prendre mes aduis vous le sçaez. Or, Je vous dis comme J'ay toufiours

¹ From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 162.

faict, soit ou d'une façon ou d'une aultre, Je ne veulx point de diuision, d'entre moy et mon enfant. Et que Je veulx, luy laissant tout le gouuernement et biens de ma propre volonté, l'asseurer de la juste possession, et ne demander que l'auctorité due à mère, telle que Je suis, luy ne désaduoue plus donques l'affociation entre nous, si vous ne voulez mettre son tiltre en doute, et m'effortre d'y proceder par un aultre voye. Car pour vous dire en vng mot, Je pense faire honneur et deuoir de bonne mère à mon fils de le faire mon compaignon à traictre. Et qu'il traicte pour moy quiconque luy a mis cela en auant, n'est qu'un sot et vng traistre. Mon fils a l'honneur de mon costé et moy rien du sien: quell contentement de le voir vertueux, et en chemin de prospérer! Je prétends de despendre entièrement de la Roynie d'Engleterre, Madame ma bonne foeur, comme sa plus proche parente, de faire une perpetuelle ligue avecques elle et entre nos pays, qu'a tousiours esté la promesse de mon fils, de me suiure en ses plus importantes affaires. Ceste cy c'est la plus Je m'asseure qu'il ne gouftera pas me désobeyr voir me griefuement offendre faisant le contraire, veu que tout ce que Je suis, c'est plus pour son bien que le mien, duquel mes maulx ennuieux m'ont faict perdre tout goust finon pour luy: s'il recule, J'appelle Dieu et tous les Princes Chrestiens à téfmoin, que J'ay faict deuoir de bonne mère, et que quoy luy en aduiendra après, il en saura gré à ceulx qui sont de ce conseil pris contre sa promesse, et celle de—Je n'en dirai pas d'auantage, vous m'entendrez, et vous souuienne que ce n'est vers moy qu'il fault diffimuler ou vser de commandement. Et Je ne croyra jamais que mon fils soit changé vers moy, ne luy en ayant donné auculne occasion; mais Je me fais forte que tiendra la parolle et ce sans diffimuler se monstrera naturel et obéissant fils. Et quant à vostre particulier, Je m'asseure que si oyez l'importance de ceste variation entre mon fils et moy, vous amyeriez mieux mourir que de mettre la main entre le bois et le corps, comme vostre commission l'importe. Et semble quant à vostre particulier vous estes mal informé, comme par après Je vous fairay entendre, et que le vent vient d'ailleurs que ne pensez; avec le temps vous l'entendrez avec satisfaction, comme Nau vous pourra tesmoigner, le quel, tant pour le crédit qu'il a de moy que les bons offices qu'il vous a tousiours faictz en mon endroict,

vous pouuez bien croire: pour le moins, il est si entier et affectionné au service et de moy et de mon fils, qu'il n'a garde de préférer son particulier, ny par la langue faire tort à quelque ce soit. Et pour ce Je vous prie croyez le et faictes de bons offices, aduertissant mon fils en combien mauuaise part Je prendray ceste nouuelle inventée course, en ce faissant vous pourrez asseurer de ma bonne volonté vers vous et les vostres. A Dieu—qu'il vous ayt en sa garde. Wingfield, ce xiiij de Décembre, 1584.

Vostre bonne amie,

MARIE R.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.¹

TRUSTIE, &c.—Your letteris, conteyneinge an offer, grounded vpon the King your Soueraignes comaundment of your service vnto vs, one whome, next vnto him, you protest to reuerence abou all other princes, giueth vs iuste cause to testifie by theis our letteris our thankfull acceptacion of the same. And for that it semeth that the continuance thereof, on your behalf towardis vs, dependeth altogether of our constant and freindly dealing towardis your said Soueraigne, in respect of his vowed good will towardis vs, before all other princes, wherein you wish solide correspondencie, we hope that we haue euer, since his first beinge, geuen so good testimonye of our love and affection towardis him, and of a singuler care we haue alwayes had of his well doeing, as there is no cause that may iustlye be taken by anye, that are not parcially affected, to doubt of our perseuerance therein, if we shall finde in him a thankfull acknowledgment and requytall towardis vs in that behalf, as we doe nowe assure our selues we shall: For we are not easilye carryed, especially by such as you note to haue made shipwrack of honestye, to varie or altour our course to-

¹ From the original Minute in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 134, fol. 161, dated 21st Dec. 1584.

wardis fuch as fhall continue conftant in well meaneing towardis vs. And, therefore, for your felf, as the groundis of your affection towardis vs femeth to be chiefly buylt vpon our good vfage of your Soueraigne, fo accordingly as you fhall carrye yourfelf towardis him, with that duetye that appertayneth to a feruant that poffeffeth that portion of credit that you doe, with a mafter of qualitee as he is, you may affure yourfelf we fhall, from tyme to tyme, efteme of you as by effectis you fhall finde in fo honorable forte, when opportunitie fhall be offred, as you fhall haue no caufe to fore think the great devocion and good will you profefse, or rather to vowe, towardis vs. And as touching this gentleman your freind, we doe not finde in him that francknes in revealeinge vnto vs fuch practifes as were intended againft vs, wherewith we knowe he was made acquainted, as we looked for, confideringe the afurance giuen, boeth by the Kings letteris, and your owne, vnto our couzen of Hunfdon, in that behalf. Some thingis in generality he hath deliuered vnto vs, whereof the greateft parte were before well knownen vnto vs. But if he would haue dealt as confidently therein, as he hath dealt paffionately in the purfuyte of the diftreffed noblemen retyred into this our realme, we fhuld then haue had better caufe to like of his procedeing, though we muſte nedes confeffe, that otherwife he hath carryed himfelf in that good forte, as we are glad the King, our good brother, hath fo rare and faithfull a ſervant.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO KING JAMES VI.¹

N'AYANT iamais de voſtre part ouy que vous feiffiez difficulté aulcune iufques à prefent, de forte que le langage que Gray en a tenu. Si au contraire m'a ſemble merueilleuſement eſtrange, ne me doubtant iamais ny que vous que J'aime fi chèrement, ny luy qui m'avoit donné tant d'affeurences de fon ſervice, euſſiez voulu me deuancer en aulcun traicté

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 94, fol. 108, where this article is dated 5 Jan. 1584. See foot note, p. 8.

par deça à mon désavantage, et luy donner pluſtoſt le tort, ou à quelque particulier qui l'a dirigé, qu'à vous. Si c'eſt le Compte d'Arran, remenez luy que J'ay encores ſes lettres, avec celles de divers aultres. Seigneurs pour l'approbation et confirmation de noſtre affociation, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

SIR, it vil pleaſe you, I vret of befor a priuie paquet to Baruik directit to Capitaine Caruel,² bot þe lacky, not finding him thair, retournit me my letteris, ſo þat I knew not by quhat moyen to fend my letteris, til yſterday I reſeiuut aduertifment frome Capitane Caruel þat he lay at Beaucaſtell, on þe Veſt Mairtches; yit þe vay is ſo vncertaine þat it vil be hard to mak a dayly vſe of conuoy by it, vitche makis me be þe more earneſt to deſyr you prouyd ſume ſure moyen þe vitche I ſhall vſe. And alſo, I vil ſkairſe be ſo plaine preſently, as otheruays I vold be if I kneu of a ſure moyen, bot you ſhall knaw forder by ſume vther meine. I haue directit a paquet to my Lord Hunſdoun, containing one vnto hir Maieſty, as you vil ſee. As it pleaſit hir Maieſty to account better of þe diſcharge of my comiſſion, þan any merit of myn deſeruit, ſa it haiſte pleaſit the King my maiſter to allou verie veil of my anſueris, as you vil ſee his auin letteris giue ſuffiſient teſtimonie, as lykuayis of þat grypt good vil he doethe beare to þe Queene your ſouueraigne, and I ſpeik it in conſcience it is meint in effect; þairfor I pray you to be a good inſtrument for þe continuance of it, for althocht þe King vas verie evil informit of your good vil touardis him, yit I hoyp ſchortly it ſhalbe manifeſtit þat he nou accountis them leiers, for in deid I declarit vnto his Maieſtie treuly futche diſpoſition as I fand in you. I muſt neidis pray you of one thing, þat you be no henderer to lat þe bainiſt gentlemen pas furthe of Ingland for

¹ From the original Cott. MSS. C. IX. art. 43, fol. 95. This letter is indorsed in a contemporaneous hand, 'From the Master of Gray—Kings association with his mother.'

² Robert Carvyle, one of the Captains of Berwick. He was frequently employed in conveying correspondence between the English and Scottish courts.

a feason, and in þat doing it shall be found you ar their verie gryt freind, for þair name is nou so odiouse to þe King þat the more any man mak for them, the vors is thair estet; so þat the grytyft veil presently thay can haue, is to avoid all occasion of jaloufie, and abyd tym, and I affur you tym vil be þair gryteft freind þan any thing ellis. I haue vrittin my opinion frely in þis maiter vnto hir Maieftie, þe vitche, I beleue, shalbe participat vnto you. Thair ennemis be in very gryt crediet, yit vithe futche a continuall feare, as I rather be dead than continually deing, if I ver in þe lyk caes. I prayse God my crediet augmentis dayly vithe my Maister, so þat I haue þe better moyen to interfirm the freindschip begune betuene thair Maiefties; feu vthers presently haithe any gryt crediet, bot þe Earle of Arrane. The Secretaire, Mr Maitlaine, is in good favouris, yit not in speciall crediet. Ther be many gryt jaloufeis presently amongis our selfis, yit ve comport þe best ve may. The tym is verie feit presently, þat fume gentleman be send heir vithe horfis to his Maieftie, for he ves verie glaid quhan I shoued him, þat hir Maieftie would send him fume opine token of opinly professit freindschipe. The souner þe gentleman come it shalbe þe better, for þan you shall be more plainly, and at gryter lenthe, aduertisit of all thingis in theis pairtes. The King is marvelously comoueit presently, at þe euil handeling of me by his mother, and that day I dischargit myself of my embassad, it ves votit in one voice by all his Counfell, þat the Association ves a thing verie dysauantageuse bothe for þe King his Maieftie and countr , and consequently vorthy to be anulit for euer. So as he haithe auouit me by his auin letteris to hir Maieftie, þat it ves neuer concludit so, nor heirefter it shall neuer fall in question. And becaus it ves sumquhat slandrous þat Nau haid said, þe Quene, his Maieftie his mother, haid þe moyen to caus him put vater in his vyn, þe Counfell thocht it meit þat Fontainie, hir man, fould mak furthe of the countr ; so he is to obey vithe the first comoditie. Befor my homecoming he has maid a thoufand leifings, and amongest diuers vpers, he said þat his brother Nau haid maid him aduertisment, þat I had promisit in England to kil þe Earle of Arrane; so it being reueilit, I ves sumquhat vrothe vithe him, and intendit to haue reuengit one him þe querel I bare, bothe agenft his brother and him self, bot his Maieftie commandit me þe contraire. I vil vryt no more þis

vay til I heir frome you. It vil please you participat þis letter to my Lord Leiceſter, and your ſone Sir Philip Sidnie. I have vrittin to bothe; bot quhan I find a more ſure commoditie I fall more plainly vryt. I intendit to haue vritten to hir Maieſtie by þis vay, a reſolution of ſume things I promiſit by my laſt letter, bot, as yit, I can not, becauſe I haue not, as yit, ful reſolution my ſelf; bot it vil please you, Sir, excuſe me, and pray hir Maieſtie to keip it ſecret þat I vryt to you, for auoyding of jalouſie. Remember þat my Lord Hunſdoun vrytt, the quhair you knaw. I tak leue, efter haueing kiſſit your handis, and committis you, Sir, to God his holy protection. Att Hollyrud houſ þis 24 of January, 1584.

Your verie affectionat freind
to do you ſeruice,

Maister of Gray

To the Ryght Honorable his ſpeciall good
freind, Sir Francis Valſinghame, Cheiffe
Secretarie to hir Maieſtie, and one of
hir honorable Privie Counſell.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.¹

PLEASE YOUR MAIESTIE, of leat thair haithe bein a copie of a letter divul-
gat in this country, and at lenthe fallin in his Maieſtie his handis, vitche
is ſpokin to haue beine vrittin by your Maieſtie vnto the Lord Maxuell,
promiſing him aſſiſtance in this his fooliſh attempt.² In caice you do

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 67, fol. 140. The ſecond page has originally been written with inſiſible ink, and brought out by ſome chemical agent, but it is now unfortunately illegible, with the exception of a word here and there.

² The 'fooliſh attempt' evidently alludes to the inſurrection of Lord Maxwell, lately created Earl of Mortoun, in fauour of the baniſhed Lords, which commenced by his attack

not find all thingis performit, according as ves promisit by þe King his Maiestie his Ambaffador, yit his Maiestie vould in no vayis beleue, til futche tym as he micht know of your self, quhou far in this propofe haid bein knowin vnto your Maiestie, vitche is the occaſion of my prefente importunitie and bouldnes: For althocht, if the letter be frome your Maiestie, the King, my maifter, is a litle intereſtit, yit I, as a poor miniſter of his, eſtime my ſelf more, ſeing it is eneuſche to loſe all credit I haue vithe his Maiestie, haueing promiſit more of your Maiestie hir pairt than he ſhall ſee effectual, and yit no more than that your vryt ſhall ſufficiently teſtifie. Quhairfor I pray moſt humbly your Maiestie, ether to aduertis, or cauſe me be aduertit, if the letter proceidit frome you, or if it be donne of propoſe be þe ſaid Lord Maxuell, as in deid I tak it to be. Quhoeuer it be, vell I am affurit to heir þe treuthe from your Maiestie, ſeing vtheruayis it ſhalbe verie preiudicyable to my crediet, the vitche, if I loſe, your Maiestie vil find þe loſe gryter than þe neu conqueiſt freindſchipe. So taking leue, I kis moſt humbly your Maiestie hir handis. At the Scottiſe Court þis 29 of April, 1585.

Your Maiftie hir moſt humble ſeruiter,

Maifter of Gray

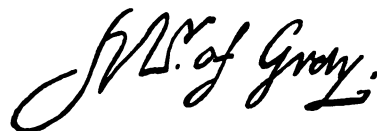
A la Ma^{te}.
De la Royne d'Angleterre

on the Johnſtons, and ultimately ſucceeded by the ſurpriſe of the King at Stirling in November following. 'Vpone the vj of Apryle 1585, Robert Maxvell, brother to the Erle of Mortoun, brunt the Laird of Johnſtounis houſe of Lochivood, and being accompanied with ſundrie freindis, tuik a great number of his men.'—*Moysi's Memoirs*, p. 52.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.¹

SIR, my leafur permittis me not pat I can vryt to you particularlie, bot vithe in thre dayis you shalbe aduertifit of all þing heir at lenthe, for to impert to my freindis in theis pairtis. In þe mid tym, I haue vretin to my Lord Leicefter and to Mr Secretarie, who vil impert thair letteris to you. I pray you interteine me in þair good grace. I feir I be constraint to imploy them, for I am hardly preffit by my vnfreind. So I defyr you to speik to the Quene pat I shall do no thing, except my lyf be in dainger, bot if I find it so, you shall perfuad hir pat it is meiter I be to þe fore than hir ennemie, and fend me hir opinion of þis point. Mr Votton is verie honourably refaueit of his Maiestie, and for my awin pairt, I shall do good vil pat he shall haue caufe to lyk of my felf. I remit all vther thingis to þe uther tuo letteris, and committ you to Goddis holy protection. Frome our Court at Holyrud þis last of May, 1585.

Your affectionate freind,



To his varie affectionat freind
Mr Archibald Douglas.

Sen Roger² pairtit I haue diskifferit him to be a knaif better than of befor, bot I caire not; lat him incur no skaithe.

Remember me oft to Sir Philip Sidney.

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 66, fol. 139.

² There is written on the back, in a contemporaneous hand, 'Rog. Ashton doubted.' He was an English Messenger between the Courts of England and Scotland.

FRANCIS STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

MY LORD AND BROTHER, I hewe refewet ane letter from his Maiestie, verray scharp, desyring me to wreit þe heill purpoifis þat was betwix Sir William Stewart² and me yesterday, as oft ye mouet. I said to him, vithin ten dayis, I swold heire presentlie to þe hwrt of fwm mon about his Grace, quhilk gif I wald declair þe verray trewth, I swold heue his Heihnes fauor and prefence foner nor I belewit. I hewe wretine at lenth þe hiele fircumstainces of þat matier to his Maiestie to þe reporteing of them, as falbe manifest, praying you to geit þe fyght of my said letter, þat ye may be afurit of [my] honest part in that, as becumis me of my honour. Now, Sir, I am glad, vith my hert, that thair ewill will towartis me manifestis to sek formis of deling; to be schort, quhair I am oblifit to beir gud will, I falbe treu and constant. Gif my Lord of Arren, or Sir William, vill allage any thing in my naime þat I reportit to tham, I fall cawyse tham eit in thair wordis in thair throt. Theirfoir be of gud cwrage, and cair nocht thair vikkit inwention. Do quhat thay can, prowying we hewe the King our Maiestys gud fauor, albeit thay ar knawin to be fik men as they ar, yet lat nocht þe Secretar nor þe Justice Clark dowl of my honestie, quhom onto I profes freindschip, nor your Lordship quhom in herte I fa grytlie esteime; as your brother James,³ and Thomas Tyrir⁴ will in þat schaw you

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. fol. 203.

² This Sir William Stewart was in his qualiteis and behavior na thing different from his brother, the Erle of Arran; a testimonie whareof he utterit in uncumlie words, upon a day in the Kings chalmer, aganis Francis Erle Bothwell. The said Bothwell having regarde to the place, said na thing for that tyme; bot within this tyme that Maxwell is his preasoner in Edinburgh, it fortunit Bothwell and Sir William to encounter with thair cumpaneis, whare Bothwell maid the first onset for the former injurie, accompaneit with a broder of Patrik Maister of Gray, whome Sir William had delatit of before; and after a light combat Sir William was killit out of hand.' This event occurred in 1588.—*Hist. of James the Sext*, p. 237.

³ James Gray of Davidstoun, one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber.

⁴ It is probable that Thomas Tyrir, or Tyrie, was the son of David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, who married Lillas, fourth daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

at meir lenth. Swa, my hertlie commendationis being rememberit, I com-
mit yow to þe protection of God. From Leith, þe xiiij of June, 1585.

Your Lordships meift lowing brother at power,



THE SPEACHES BETWEENE THE EARL BOTHWELL AND SIR
WILLIAM STEWART.¹

SIR WILLIAM STEWART demaunded, 'What should be the occasion of the
crymes betwixt my Lord of Arrane and me?' Whome to I answered, 'The
innumerable breakes of his frendship never deserved by me.'

He replieth, 'What if all those may be taken away, are you not willing
to enter in friendshipp as of before?' I answered, 'By what manner?' He
answered, 'I shall cause him oblige him self to gett you the Kingis Maiestys
prefence, yet ere his Maiestie goe over the water.' 'In doing that, I
should acquite my Lord of Arrane, as it apperteyned alwayes.'

'Are you not willing to enter into an fure band of frendship with him?'
I answered, 'That I could not, nor would not, enter with him, who had so
shamefully broken his faeth and promise, till first hee obteyned me your
Maiesties prefence, at what time I should enter with him, as he had de-
served at my hands.'

'Well, I knowe what makes you so hard to enter in frendship with
him.' 'What is that?'

'I knowe there is ten or twelve of you banded and confederate to the
slaughter of the Erle of Arrane.' 'If you will say that I am banded, or
that know any others to be banded, in his contrary, in that I will say you

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 171, fol. 201. These speeches are alluded to in the
previous letter.

lyed. And yf I had knowne, I should never haue beene participant of no Stewartes skayth or blood.' 'Alwayes I knowe you to be entred of new with some who hates him deadlie.' 'Who are those?' 'You know them better then I.' 'It becomes me not to make any acquainted, but of my own free will.'

'Alwaies, and are ye not in frendship with the Master of Gray?' 'I am.' 'And the Secreter?' 'I haue no other occasion.' 'Yet I knowe you favour them best of any man.' 'Truly it is of treuth, and shall fortifie and assist them in all their honest causes against all men, his Maiestie onlie excepted.'

'Well, are ye not in frendship with my Lord of Montrosse?' 'Hout, hout, what devill I haue to doe with my Lord of Montrosse, but in ane common manner.'

'Alwaies to returne to our purpose, knowe ye nothing of their pretenses in my brothers contrar? I pray you tell me, and geue me your advise and counfayle.'

'As to knowe any thing to be done in his contrar, by God, I am not participant in noe wayes. But this ffar I knowe him to haue a generall misliking of the whole nobilitie and barons of this realme, so that all the whole countrey, were it deuided into tuenties, I am assured there would not be scarcelie one of each tuentie that would wishe him well.'

'Then geue me your counsell howe it may be mended?' 'By this only meane, *Præstat sero sapere quam nunquam*. Wott ye what that is? Better late thrive then never. Therefore my counsell is, that, if he be willing to conquesse the heartes of those which is lofed, he must be of a newe conuersation; he must leave briberie and extraordinary extorcions, both of riche and poore, and cast him to winne noble mens heartes, or else he will not fayle to lye in the myre.'

'My Lord, I will not trouble you anie longer; but I will goe to my Lord of Arrane, and I shall cause him satisfie you for all his bypast offenses, which, if he fayle to doe, I shall then thrief my self of him, and binde me to you against all whome foeuer.'

'Sir, I thanck you hartefully.' So we ended on Sunday, at three afternoone or thereby.

On Munday in the morning, moved by what motion I know not, where to see his love, or moved by some extraordinary occasion, he addresseth him self to Trebrin, where not having comoditie, wee delayed our whole conference, while we were on horsback coming to Edinburgh; where he began to enter in respect of our former purpose, and began so: 'My Lord, if you would tell the truth to the Kinges Maiestie of all thinges, you would gett his prefence.' I answered, 'By God, so far as I knowe.'

'Then may I say to the Kinges Maiesty, that you will declare to his Maiestie them twelve noble men who are confederate and banded to take my Lord of Arranes life, or, at least, to debarre him his Maiesties prefence; or, may I say it in your name?'

'In my name!' I answered, before Mr Robert Hepburne, who heard the whole purpose. 'Yes, I will say it to the Kinges Maiestie in your name.' 'Nay, an you say it, by Godis body, I will say that you lied like a knave in saying of it.'

'Yet I may say that you are banded with the Maister of Gray and the Secreter?'

'Nay, neither; for and ye say that, yet you lied. But say that I esteeme of the Master of Gray and the Secreter, as my most speciall frendis, and that say.

THE COPIE OF ERLE BOTHWELL'S LETTER TO THE KING.¹

I HAUE here sett downe vnto your Maiesty, the true discourse of the whole purpose passed betwixt vs, at both our meetings, which ended on a promes on his parte, that I should haue prefence this day, yf I would enter in frendship with the Erle of Arrane. Wherefore, seeing it is offered to me conditionally by other handis, and yet I haue your Highnes promes, both by my fervant and your Maiesties last letter, that I shall haue it in Dumfermeling, I must insist that, as soone as it may seeme convenient to your Maiestie, I may be beholden in it to your Maiesties owne good will and favour. So praying your Maiestie to haue as great patience in the reading, as I haue had in the writing of it, after kissing of

¹ This article is referred to in Bothwell's letter to the Master of Gray.

your Maiesties handis, moste humbly, I take my leave, committing your Maiefty to Godis good proteccion. From Leyth the xiiijth of June, 1585.

HEADS OF INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO CAPTAYNE BRUCE FOR G. BY A.¹

SHEWE the Master of Gray the danger wherein he appeares to remayne, and that he needes not hereafter to look for any favour here, vnles he be able to make excuse for deedis past, which, in my opinion, he cannot be able to doe, without his vtter ruine, except he possesse our Soueraignes favour, that he may let him vnderstand.

POSTSCRIPT IN THE SAME INSTRUCCIONS BY A. TO G.

SIR, Theis proceedings are evill fallen out for the King his service, and worfe for your particuler welfare; and I cannot beleif that you would alter your former course, vnles you were entered on some other that you thinck better for his seruice and your owne weale. Yf so be, I pray you lett me knowe thereof, that I may retire my self in safety and honesty foorth of this realme, to followe your fortune whatsoeuer; ffor here wilbe no abiding for me, if theis banished Lordes shall receaue the comfort they looke for. What was prepared for you and frendes, if theis vnhappy newes had not interuened, the bearer can declare. I pray you haste the answere hereof and of the memoriall with expedition.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.²

SINCE the directing of my lasfe vnto you of the date of the foureteenth

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 193, fol. 226. Dated 20th Aug. 1585. This and the following letter appear to have been written by Mr Archibald Douglas, then at the English Court, to the Master of Gray.

² Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 194, fol. 226. This article is titled in the manuscript, 'A letter written in white inke from A. to G. the xxj. of August 1585.'

of Augufte, I haue beene diuers times at Courte, and haue affayed, by fuch fmall credit as I haue, to qualify fome of theis hard apprehenfions conceaved of our Soveraignes proceedinges. I perceave my travell can not prevayle, neither fee I howe this matter can be well helped, vnles fome matter in action be performed, whereby this inconstant dealing, fo termed by thofe of the Councell, may be removed. Her Maieftie doth vtter fpeeches that fhe would neuer haue beleueed that the King, or any of his wife Councell, would fo far ouer feene them felues, as to write one day to her that fuch and fuch matters fhould be performed, and on the next day thereafter, not abiding her anfwere, would then overthrowe the fame: fo manifef a mockery, that noe gentleman of reputation would haue vfed the like to his inferiour or fervaunt. And as hir Maieftie and Counfailors are grieved at the manner of proceedinges, fo is there a number of gentelmen, frendes to the trespaffed, wounded in minde, for the flaughter of the gentell man of fo greate expectacion; whereuppon there is occafion taken by vnfrendis to aggrevate this matter in fuch manner, that hardly can any man or affured frend be found who will help to mittigate this matter; and that which may help this matter, I feare, will be fo vnpleafant to his Maiefty, that I will not prefume to open my parte of it. Theis banifhed Lordes are like, not only to finde the affiftance and favour of all perfons grieved, but alfo to procure greater liberty, which, vnto this time, had been ftreight by th'only meane of Sir Francis Walfingham, the remanent Counfaylors, for the moſte parte, being abſent from Court. My Lord of Leiceſter is not yet returned, but by letters which I haue ſeene from his Lordſhip, he heavily lamented the manner of theis proceedinges, ſpecially bycauſe of the good appearance that might haue enſeued, if matters had beene right followed out.

As I writte vnto you before that Andwerp was rendred, ſo is it nowe The forme of the appointment ſhalbe ſent vnto you by the next. Her Maieſtye had receaued the countrey of Holand and Zeland, geuen vnto her by the Eſtates thereof, and hath but 9000 men for receaving poſſeſſion of ſuch townes as ſhuld be deliuered into her keeping. Theis twoo provinces, beeing the places in Chriſtianity moſt abundant in ſhippes, beene ioyned to this country, are thought able, not only to

defend them selves against all enemies that would invade of bothe, but also to stopp any other nation, but suche as they please to approve in any porte of this Iland, or her Maiesties dominions; and hereuppon they haue founded the firste surety of this estate, and are not muche like to feeke the ayde of any foren Prince for establisshing of their surety. I pray God his Maiesty may be moved to devise some good meanes, whereby hir Maiesty may remayne contented of his proceedinges, and his Highnes recover the favour which he vniuersally had obteyned of this floureshing nation, abounding in wealth and riches. In France it is geuen out, that the King altogether mislikes of theis Guifardis, and that there doth appeare a peace to followe betwixt the King and Protestantes, whereby the former edict shalbe ratified, and the laste abolished. Poverty, and lack of mony to susteyne theis warres, is like to produce theis effectis, and that shortly. As matters falleth out you shall haue further aduertisement.¹

I began your letter with no small regard, bycause I feared the same cours to be in hand at this time, which of before I caused Thomas Milles, vnder secrett, to open vnto you. I moste hartely pray you to be wyse, and with your self to consider thereof. The opening of it may doe great harme, and keeping secrett with knowledge no small good. The remedy in theis matters for your particuler apperes to be this, to excuse your self by writt, and to move the King to deale by action hereafter, and yf you can be the doer your self, you will recover reputation to bothe. Before this can come to your handis, the Ambassadour will lett you to vnderstand what is reported of you, and committ to his eares, and he will desire to knowe the verity thereof of your self. But I think he will not let you vnderstand who is the reporter, bycause I would not obteyne so far commaund to be geuen vnto him. But this far I can not hide from you, the men that you suspect are the doers, which I pray you, most hartely, to keepe secrett, bycause the opening thereof wilbe my vtter discredite, and hurtful to yourself. The found of the report is this: You are the chief furtherer of Arenes liberty; hath receaved good deed for doinge thereof;

¹ The continuation of this letter, as stated in the MS., was written 'in white incke, of the same day, and to the same person, from A.'

is entred in dealing with the Jefuites; and vfeth diffimulacion in the courfes with England. The matter was very hardly taken here, fpecially by her Maiefty, and heauily lamented by your fpeciall freindis. And truly matters are entred in fo hard apprehenfions, that I feare this inconstant kinde of dealinge of imprifoning at one day, and releafing at another, without her advife, fhall giue occafion of fpeech and thinking, at all times hereafter, that nothing fhall beleeved of that which fhall come from that countrey, except it fhall confift in actions. And, to fpeake the truthe, it was not well done to fett Arren at liberty before returning of her Maiefties Ambaffadour, by reafon all men condemnes the King in that matter, eether of inconstancy, or then pat it was done for iefting with her Maiefty, which is very euil taken, as will appeare by her Maiefties letteris to the King. I haue travelled diuers times that her Maiefty might haue vfed fome mitigation, but I perceave my labours will not prevayle, vnles his Maiefty make fome amendement by action. So far as concerneth theis banifhed Lordes, I fee the whole frendis of Sir Thomas Ruffell not only minded to giue them countenance and affeftance, but her Maiefty is alfo begining to give eare to their petitions, and to caufe queftions of their force at home to be demaunded. *It wilbe dangerous to fuffer that courfe to goe forwardes, by reafon it cannot be called back when men would. In my opinion it fhallbe well done to lay the perill open to his Maiefty,* and to lett him vnderftand nothing can help that matter, and bring him in credite and favour here, as he was before, except doing by action; and no action can be able to help, but the releiving of the banifhed Lordes, or then the deliury of Arren and Ferniherft,¹ to be vfed at their pleasure, or then the performing of both. I think reafon fhould move his Maiefty to remeid theis matters, before they come to further ripenes, otherwife when men would doe good, matters wilbe vnremedible, as I writ to you before that writ was loft.

I dare make no recommendacion vpon this text left I fhould efeme partiall.

¹ Sir Thomas Ker of Fairniherst.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.¹

MY HONOURABILL LORD. Albeit that finding my self verie far interefit, by the to fodune aduertifment the Embaffadour maid of me, I affuret him that I would not deall forder in maiters, til I fould haue bein fatiffiet: yit, feing the King, my Souueraine, his eftet perrefht, the courfe lykly to be ouerthrown, and my felf and my freindis apperantly to be reducit to futche miferie, that our lyfis and landis fhouldest be fubiect to the mercie of our enemies, I haue impertit to him the verie moyen quhou all theis euillis may be remediit, and hes left afe all particulair querell. I ves heir in futche place as I could not vryt my felf in ciffre, and I would not commit it to patent letter, fo I haue prayit him to vryt of it to your Lordship and the reft of my honourable freindis. And fume other thing I haue written to Mr Douglas, for to fchau your Honour, and vil pray you for your helpin hand, and, in grace of God, I fhall bring maiters about, to the veil of bothe þe princes and realmes, to the contentment of you and all godly perfonages, and for the ruin of my ennemeis, quho hes diffryt my vrak, and of the courfe, and to the gryt displeafur of all richt men. It vil pleafe your Honour to mak Mr Douglas acquent vithe your Lordships counfell, quhou ye villit I fhould vfe my felf in maiters, to the end, he may lat me vnderftand it in chiffre; and I fhall do good vil to conforme my felf in all thingis to your contente. Bot one [thing] cheifly is to be aduiffit vpone, that Arrane and Mortoun ar pacquit vpe, and maiters compofit betwene them, for it hes a forder tail than ve haue hithertile forfein, albeit in deid it hai the verie gryt fchow: of the effectis, I haue delyuerit to the Embaffadour and Mr Douglas; for it is of treuthe that their Jefuiftes repairit to Mortouns hous, and euer fince he hes haid, as is fpokin to the King, in his hous daily, mefs, and all his men, for fure, ar payit vithe Frenche crounes. So that ve feir the apprehenfion of the King

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art 195, fol. 228.

his awin perfoun for to be takin in France; vitche accordis verie veil to pat my oncle came for to mak me aduertisment, pat the hole Guisartis hoppit shurly to see the King in France yit befor Allhallowday. The vorst is the King is young and cairles, and in his tym hes neuer teaftit any frowning storme, vitche makis him beleue that no man dar attempt any futche maiter. Bot if thingis be not in tym remediit, I am schreudly affrayit that he become vyse throu a verie hard experience; bot of pis your Honour vil know more particulairly a vther day. As your Honour thinkis expedient, you may schaw of pis to þe Queen hir Maiestie your Souueraine. Now only restis to thank you verie grytly, for the courtaisie schewit to my oncle. I hoyp in recompence I shall mak him do you seruice. So taking leue, I comit your Honour to God his holy protection. Frome our Court at Inchemerin, quhair skairfly for hounting ether do ve sleip or eat, 25 of Auguft, 1585.

Your Honours obedient to do you seruice,

Mr of Gray

To his honorable Lord th'Earle of
Leicester, Gryt Steuart of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

HER Maiefty vnderstanding that you should be greatlie greeued, vpon some doubt conceaued, that her good conceipt of you was altred vpon informacion sent from thence, that you were fallen away from that deuotion you professed to beare towards her, she hath willed me to signesie vnto you, that in case she should haue beene so lightlie carried away vpon a bare informacion, without reseruing an eare for you, she should have

¹ From the original minute, dated 4th September 1585, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 200, fol. 133.

done noe lefs wrong to herſelf than vnto you,—vnto her ſelf, for that it ſtandeth not with the place of iuſtice ſhe holdeth, to condemne anie to die vnheard;—and vnto you, that having deferued, (as no man more), ſo greatlie at her handes, ſhe ſhould fayle to yeald you that, which every comon perſon may, in courſe of iuſtice, clayme, and that is, the reſervacion of an eare. Befides, when ſhe looked into your birthe, which is honourabill, that noe pointe of honour is greater then to be true of word, or vnto your iudgment and wiſedome, which can not but right well diſcerne, that noe frendſhipp or amitie can be ſo profitable as the amitie of England vnto the King, your maiſter, of whoſe well doinge noe Scott can be more carefull, ſhe cannot thincke that you can be eaſilie carried away by a contrarie courſe, to ſſayle either in pointe of honour touching yourſelf, or in dutie touching your ſoueraigne. And therefore, doth pray you to lay all doubtſes and iealouſies aſide, and to aſſure your ſelf that the Queen of England will never condemne ſo devoted a gentelman, as the Maſter of Gray is, vppon flight brutes without receaving your anſwere.

This much I wrote by her Maieſties comaundement and eſpeciall diſreccion. For my ſelf I doe aſſure you that no one thing did, for the time ſince I entred into the publique charge I nowe holde, greeue me more then that our Ambaſſadour, through ſuch a cunning practiſe and abuſe offered him, ſhuld be made an inſtrument to call in queſtion the credite of his beſt frend, and one whome he hathe profeſſed to loue moſte in that realme. But this breach is nowe ſalved, and that opinion conceaved of you, that you have right worthily deſerved, which I will ſeeke to nour-iſhe with noe leſſe care then my owne perticuler credite. And ſo, Sir.

MONSIEUR FONTENAY TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.¹

MADAME à ce que je peux prévoir des choſes D'Eſcoffe, ceſte negocia-tion D'Angleterre ſe reſouldra en fumée, ou pour le moins il ſe paſſera

¹ Extracted from Fontenay's letter, dated at Paris, 'ce premier de . . . , 1585,' in *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 538.

beaucoup de avant que l'en venir à une conclusion; mais cependant Gray se servant de l'autorité de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour disgracier Aran, et se mettre en sa place, je crains et croy qu'il remplira l'Escoffe de factions et divisions, opposant les Hamiltons, à la mayson de Lennox. Encore que les commencemens de pratiques du dit Gray n'en donnent apparence, il est apres aultant qu'il peult pour fayre retourner en cour, et repatrier avec le Roy d'Escoffe, les contes De Huntley, D'Athol et Bothwell, et aultres, par le lemoyen desquelz il faiçt estat de fayre rappeler les Hamiltons à la ruine du conte D'Aran, et pour leur moyen le combattre de son autorite, ce qui en fin ne peult revenir qu' avec un tres perilleux hazard et du Roy vostre filz, et par consequent de vostre majesté. Laquelle, a ceste cause, je supplie tres humblement me faire scavoir lequel de deux elle mieux aymeroyt la rayne du conte D'Aran, ou De Gray, pour ce que j'ay intelligence avec l'un et avec l'autre pour conduire cest affayre selon vostre desir. A la verite il seroyt fort expedient de ruiner le conte D'Aran, et par le moyen de Gray, en ce fayfant, faire approcher de Roy le conte de Huntley et aultres bien affectionnez à vostre majesté, mais je crains que cela advenant par le moyen de Gray, et consequemment par l'entremise de la Reyne D'Angleterre, ceulx qui auparavant en despit D'Aran, qui l'an passé negocioit avec elle, luy estoient ennemis, ne deviennent les vostres, par ses pratiques et corruptions. La soudaine et frequente mutation D'Escoffe, et des humeurs de la plus part de ceulx, qui y vivent, principalement en cour, me faiçt apprehender cest inconvenient, quequel promesses qu'a mon partement le conte D'Huntley, et plusieurs aultres m'ayent faiçt de leur fidelitié à l'endroit de vostre majesté, et pour ce, si j'en estoys creu vostre majesté ne se declareroit ny d'un coste, n'y d'autre, jusques à ce que vostre majesté vist plus clairement lequel de deux est pour demuerer aupres du Roy. Je scay bien que Gray desespere de puoir jamais mais obtenir pardon de vostre majesté, faiçt tout ce qu' il peult pres du Roy, et sous son autorite pres de la Reyne D'Angleterre, pour faire defarmer vostre majesté De Nau, et tous aultres serviteurs Francoys, et en leur place en substituer l'aultres Anglois ou Escoffoys à la devotion de la Reyne D'Angleterre, et d'un Roy D'Escoffe, qui des auparavant que je partife D'Escoffe, j'en ay faiçt folliciter vivement le Jus-

tice Clerke son dernier ambassadeur en Angleterre. Le conte de Montroffe a signé la bande du conte D'Aran avec plusieurs autres my lords et barons. Au contraire Huntley, Bothwell, Athol, le Secrétaire Methland, Sir Robert Melvin, et autres y compris les puynez Setons (car my lord est du coste du conte D'Aran), ont signé la bande de Gray contre luy. My lord Claude Hamilton, qui est par deçà, a d'esperance de retourner en Escosse par ce moyen. Madam, voila ce que je scay et prevoy de l'estat D'Escosse pour jourd'huy, me mettant du reste à ceulx qui en scavent plus de moy.

THE RELATION OF THE MASTER OF GRAYE, CONCERNING THE
SURPRISE OF THE KINGE AT STERLINGE.¹

FOR the reformation of matters out of order, both in the court particularly, and the government generally, of Scotland, and the removeing of some bad instrumentis (namely, th'Earle of Arrane, by whose credite the Kinge was runing a course that this state might not suffer) from the Kinge, it was at last thought expedient to let loose, and turne downe the Lords banished and abiding in London to the Borders.

But before they should goe downe, a partye was first provided for them on the Borders, to ioyne with them, and secret friends wrought for them in the court, against they should come forward; the chiefe whereof was the Master of Gray, opposite enemy to Arrane, and as great a favourite of the King as he. These thinges being ripe, the Ambassador retreating himself at the instant, it so fell out, that he arriving at Barwick the xvj of the last moneth, the Lords were come down to the Borders the next day after.

The Lords, teamed the Lords of the faction, or banished lords, were these: th'Earles of Angus and Marre, the Master of Glamis, the Lordis of

¹ From the Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 224, fol. 260. This article will also be found in the Bannatyne Miscellany, Vol. I. p. 129.

Arbroth, Pashley, Cambuskenneth and Dryborough, and others. The opposite were, th'Earles of Arrane, Montrose, Crawford, Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, Arranes brother, and the Lord of Downe, &c.

The first meetinge of the banished Lords together was at Kelfo within the midle Marches, and thence divided themselves thus: Angus and his company, the better to gather friends, went to Pebles, not farre from Edinburgh; Arbroth and his company went to Dumfries, to ioyne with the Lord Maxwell, that had bene in armes all the summer before, for a particular against Johnston, the Kings Warden; and so being seuered, appointed for a generall rendezvous, or meeting-place, at Faulkirk, xij myles from Sterlinge, the laste of that moneth; where they met together, and were to the number of 8,000 horse and footemen.

Here all were like to fall in sonder by reason of the Lord Bodwells wauering.

The Master of Gray in this tyme was gone from the Courte to gather friends, and meant to surprise Saint Johnstone, being secretly friends for the Lords of the faction, but pretended to levy all that he did for the Kinge, that then purposed to make a rode upon the Lord Maxwell, commaunding all men from sixty to sixteen, to goe with him. All this tyme Arrane lay at his howse at Kenneil, so commaunded by the King vpon the suspicion of the Lord Ruffells slaughter; but vnderstandinge of Mr Wottons secret retyre, and the cominge of the banisht Lords, whome he tearmed rebellis, to the Borders, he repayed to the courte, enformeing the Kinge of all that he heard, persuaदेinge the Kinge that all this was done with the Master of Grayes privitie and knowledge; and therefore, desirous that the King should take his life from him, drew him for to send for the Master of Gray with diligence.

The Master beinge sent for, (he was then assemblinge his friends in the Fife shyre,) was doubtfull what to doe, beinge privily advertised that his life was fought for by Arrane; yet feareing least his absence should overthrowe the whole plot, and by giveing place to Arrane, hazard the cause, adventured and came to the Kinge, whome he found gracious, and beleived all that the Master had said in his purgacion; which when Arrane and his complices sawe, they determyned to kill him in the Kingis presence amongst themselves, or at the least within the castell.

But whilest they were thus occupied in court, word came that the Lordis

were marched and come within a mile of Sterlinge, which gaue Arrane and them cause to bethink themselues of defending the towne; and all the night, the first of November, with Montrosse and the rest, he watched on the walles himself in person.

The next morninge, the ij of November, the Lords marched towardes the towne, with purpose to scale the same. But Arrane, knoweing all this storme to be bent onely at his head, and suspectinge falsehood in fellowship, and his own desertes, with one man fled secretly out of the towne, over the bridge. The rest, seing him slip away, retyred all into the castell, where the King, and Master of Gray, and other secret frendis to the Lords were.

The towne thus abandoned made small resistance, but gaue entrance to the Lords, who forthwith made themselues masters thereof, by seazeing of the market place, and th' Earle of Marres house.

After the breakeinge into the towne, they went straight and sett vp their banners before the sparre of the castell, that was cramde full in a manner of great personages, with the King, some friendes, some enemyes.

The King the next morninge sends out the Secretary and Justice-clerk, to take assurances for such as should come to parle with them.

Which done, the Master of Gray was sent to them from the King, to demaund the cause of their comeinge; and after an houres commoninge returnes, and makes an honourable reporte of their dutifull submission and desire to see his Maiesty, and kisse his handis.

The King, retheyneinge a feare that Arrane had put him in of them, sent them word, that if they would haue their landis and liueings and departe, he would giue them all.

They insist still vpon entringe the castell to see his Maiestye, whose fauour they sought more then their liveings. Whereat the King returning the Master againe to them, propounded three things to them; viz. the safety of his own person; no innovacion in the state; and the assurance of the liues of such as he should name.

They made answere, that for the Kinges person they neuer meant harme vnto it, but would dye in defence of it. They desired no innovacion. But for the third propoficion, seing they were the men that had for so longe a tyme bene iniured, they desired rather that for their suretye

hereafter, the persons, as they knew to be their enemyes, might be deliuered into their guard and handes, together with the fourtes and strengthes of the realme.

About theis two pointes there was much adoe, and a day spent in debateinge: yet, at length, what with the want of victualles for so greate a number, the castell, together with the goodwill of the mediators necessitye, enforced to yield vnto it, and so were the gates opened, the Lords let in, and admitted to the Kinges prefence.

The first thinge after their entry, was the deliuey of the persons of Montrosse, Crawford, Rothes, (Earles,) Collonell Steward, Sir William Steward, the Lord of Downe, and others; Arrane beinge fled, as said is, before.

Immediatly after was Arrane proclaymed traytour at the marquet place, in the Kinges name. The Kinges guard altered, and in the afternone of the same day, a pacification and remission proclaymed in the Lordes behalfe, all faultis forgiuen, and all thinges reputed as done for the Kings seruice.

The castell of Dumbritton assigned to Arbroth, the chiefe of the house of the Hamyltons, and of right Earle of Arrane. The castell of Edinburgh graunted to the keepeinge of Coldingknowes; and other strengthes to the rest, as Tomptallon to Angus; and Sterlinge to Marre, &c.

And thus hath the good succeffe in court fallen out, beinge well handled off all parties, which giueth hope to the Ministers to recouer their Sinode againe against the Bishops; and so to restore the discipline of the Church, if not better, at least as well as it was before Arranes gouernment.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

SIR, Albeit of late I wrote vnto you, yeat Robert Caruel, coming vnto me by your command, thought without lettre, for to knawe what was th'effect of this French Ambassadours negociating, I have instructed him at length. He is named Monsieur De Valle, sonne in lawe to Monsieur

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 244.

Pynart, and I think, by his addrese, for he is very young and litle thing in him, he hath for tutors, a secretary of his fathers in lawe, and the fellow Curfolles, that was secretary to Meluiffier in England, who hath disguised him self from Curfoles to De Preau, to the end he should not be knawen. Some think he is sent, (I meane Curfolles), by the Kings mother, our Quene sometime. But how euer it be, they kepe therin as yeet very quiet, neuer a one of them fortès their lodging. He neuer hath craued audience but one day. All he disponit that day was his letters and some language. In his lettre off , there was a claufe which offended the King, for it bare, that of ald Scotland esteemed of Fraunce as ther *bouclier et appuie contre tous venants*, and that the Kingis of Scotland were subiect vnto France. This fore offendid the King, and he gaue hard language. But the simplicity of the Ambassadour was remarked in it, for this letter was of date 10 October, and he had one more recent, wryten by the King since he was surely informed of the alteration heer, but he presented both without respect had of pe tyme. It was thought he had brought great fomes of money; but it is not so. The effect of his negociation is to traffique with sondry of the nobility, rather then with the Kingis self; but he is a simple soule. I remit the rest to Carvill. I am fully aduertified from Spayne pat there is great preparation made both of men and shippes, and some thereby . . . Ireland, as chiefly the Papistes of this contrey. Of this they are affured; but I am not of their opinion, that euer the King of Spayne will send money into Ireland: Well he may send some alwayes, it maks them of the relegeon prowder. What hath been of late here, I wrote vnto you of before. I pray you forget not my commendations to my Lord Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney. And craving that you reteeyne me in your good grace, I comit you to Godis holy protection. From the Court at Halirudhouse this 29th of January, [1585].

Your loving freind to command,

J. M. of Gray.

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.¹

RYGHT HONORABLE MY VERIE GOOD LORD, I receaued your Lordships letter the verie daye of my departeur towards Scotlande, concerninge the forces which your Lordship is desyerus to have owte of Scotlande; which letter gave me occasion some what to saye to have Mr Secretars opinion concerninge the fame: which is, that yt please your Lordship that, immediatly vpon the receate of this my letter, to wryte your self a letter to the Master of Graye, requestinge hym, (as he hathe offered), to accepte the charge of so maynye as your Lordship dothe desyer from thens, with knowledge of th'intertaynmente to fiche person of charge, or gentleman of speciall note, that he shall bringe with hym. Bycause, also, that this requerethe monye to have them leviede, and for their transportinge to the place where theye shall serue, that your Lordship wyll also wryte your mynde therin, that nothinge shalbe dowted of or leaft in fuspence at my comynge thythir, to be accomplyshed accordinge to your Lordships wyll and desyer.

I am also wylled to put your Lordship in mynde, that as the Master self wyll take this to be a greate honour, (as he proffesses), to serue vnder your Lordship, so hathe he wrytten hyther to Mr Archibalde; which letteris have byne seen by her Maiestie, and your Lordship made privie by Mr Secretarie to the fame, from whom his Honour thoughte that he shilde have had answer before that tyme, and therefore nowe wyssethe that your Lordship wolde wryte vnto the Master of Graye self, bothe thankis for his willingenes, and the frendlye offer made vnto your Lordship, which, yf it be performed, the Kinge selfe muste be imbarcked in this action, (which is a thinge of no smale momente), for that yt cane not be done withowte the Kingis consent and allowance. Yt maye be that your Lordships letter maye be as sone in Scotlande as I; to whom, yf yt please your Lordship to sende your letteris, (as maynye tymes by sea your Lordship maye

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 84, fol. 169.

do), I wishe that theye were directed vnto me, lodgyng at Mr Alexander Clerkis howse in Edenboure. Mr Killegrewe knoweth the partie, and yf God sende me wyll thither, ther shalbe no thinge leaste be me vndon, that ether your Lordship shall commande, or my self cane thynke, that may tende to the performance of that worthy and noble enterpryse of your Lordships. As oft I maye, your Lordship shall heare from me, or Mr Harrie Killegrewe, whose hande yt maye please your Lordship to vse, for some tymes sparinge of your owne, or yt beinge busyed in so maynye wayes as yt is. That your Lordship maye knowe some what of the present state of Scotland, as nowe it is, I sende your Lordship this inclosed. And so desyeringe God to prosper your Lordships enterpryse, and all wayes sende you well to do, I hvmillye tayke my leave. At my howse in London vpon St Peters hyll, the vijth of februarie, 1585.

Your Honour Lordship euer to commandes,

Thos. Darnley

To the right honorable my verie good
Lorde, th'Erle of Leicefter, Lord Go-
vernour of the Lowe Countrys of
Flanders.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

SIR, I haue sent this gentleman my seruant to my Lord of Leicefter, to knou his mynd, if he vil craue that men be leuiat furthe off this country for his seruice thair. I vrot of befor to your Honours self, bot than I intendit only to haue maid voyage vithe sum of my auin priuat friendis

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 73, fol. 148.

and seruandis, or a feu vther. Bot nou I vnderftand, by a letter vrottin from my Lord of Leicefter to my Lord Embaffadour for hir Maieftie, that he is defyrus for fum troupes in quantitie, fo that I did tak deliberation to know refolutly quhat numbre his Lordship vil craue; for ether feu or many, I am aible to fournis them in verie fchort tym. Bot meiteft it is, fum fitt man of his auin be fent in this country for that effect, or than, that Mr Randolphe refaue the chaarge thairof. For particulair, I recomend to you and his Lordship felf vithe affurance of honourable dealing, and this I vil promeis no man fhall ferue vnder him quha cariethe a better mynd to hir Maiefties eftet. Bot haue committit crediet in pis, and all vther thinges perin he hes to negotiat, to the berar quhom your Honour may crediet as my felf. I pray your Honour give him your aduyfe in this affair. Maiters heir goethe verie veil, and the league to take effect, albeit fum ingrat ftayers that haithe bein, *fed remunerabuntur tandem mercede eorum*. The Embaffadour and Mr Myllis vil informe your Honour foe lairgely of all thingis, that I vil hould my peace. Bot I fhall affur you, in graice of God, in despyt of the Deuil, and all vifching the contrary, thingis fhall not go vrong. Bot of this Mr Myllis and the berar vil informe your Honour at gryter lenthe, quhom I recommend to your accouftumat courtaisie fcheuit to me and all myn. Ve do not a little meruail at Mr Archibalds ftay. The King is now in better difpofition touardis him than of leat. Nou, refting to pray your Honour prefent to hir Maieftie my heumble feruice, I leaue you in the protection of God Almychtie. Holyrood, 12 Feb. 1585.

Yours euer to be comandid vithe fervice,

Patrick Master of Gray.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis
Valfingham, principall Secretarie to
the Quenes Maieftie of England.

THOMAS RANDOLPHE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

Vppon Saterdag the xxvjth of February, I arrived at Edinburgh, and dined at North Berwick by the way with Mr Alexander Hume, sometimes servant to the Earle of Murray. By order from the Kinge, there mett me at Muffelborgh, the Justice Clerke,² accompanied with betwene 40 and 50 horse, with sondry gentlemen of the Kinges houle. In Edinburgh I am lodged where your Honour was, the house being furnished with muche of the Kinges stuffe, whether beeing conducted by the Justice Clerke. After his departure from me, I sent soone after Thomas Milles to the Secretary, desiring to knowe the Kinges pleasure for my repayre to his prefence. Monday in the afternoone was appointed for mine audience, and the Justice Clerke sent for me. At the court gate the Master of Glames met me, and so by them twoo I was broughte vnto the Kinges prefence, with whome I found the young Duke of Lennox, the Erles of Angusse, Marre, Bothuile, the Lordes Claude Hamilton, Herris and Seaton, the Master of Gray, and the Secretary,³ and others. My dutie beeinge done to the Kinge, and answere made to some questions that his Grace asked me of her Maiesties health, I deliuered her Highnes letter, which, when he had read, 'I finde,' sayeth he, 'a greate continuance of your mistresses good will towardes me, and I will not fayle to do the like.' Then declared I the cause and the effect of my comeinge. As the matters were of weight and importance, so founde I in his countenance some alteracion, tokens, as I tooke them, of his passions of his minde, as namely, when I spake of the death of the Lord Ruffel⁴ I founde a shewe of fadnes; and speakinge of the league, he laughed almost openly, that such as

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. VIII. art. 256, fol. 294. There is no date to this letter, but it appears to have been written on the 1st or 2d March 1585-6.

² Sir Lewis Ballenden of Auchnoull.

³ Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane.

⁴ Sir Francis Russel, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, who was unfortunately slain in a Border fray by Ker of Farniherst, July 27, 1585.

observed his countenance perceaved that I spake of something to his likinge. When I had ended my speache, his Grace sayeth thus vnto me, 'I must acknowledge myself so bounde to the Queene your mistres, as if she were my sifter; indeede better counsell and aduise I cannot receaue from any, and, God willing, I intend to followe it.' Theis wordes he spake openly in the hearing of all in the chamber. For that I did but shortlie runne over the matters I am to deale in, but reserved somewhat in store to haue the freer accessse vnto him hereafter, I prayed him to take the thinges I had spoken of but as shorte notes of that which I would, with his good leaue, more at large imparte vnto him. He liked well of the request, and gaue me leaue to come vnto him when and as often as I would. After this his Maiesty entreth into more private talke, and telleth me him self, that there was an Ambassadour out of France farre younger then myself; one that had never beene Ambassadour before, and that seemed not to knowe this countrey so well as I doe. I told him that if he came with that minde and affection, in deede that I did, at all times to doe his Maiestie and his countrey service, it was not to be respected howe young he was, but what minde he bare. 'I trowe,' said the King, 'it be well, but I haue not as yet dealt much with him.' I tooke occasion to speake of the house of Guise, that procured his comeinge hither. I spake of Holt the Jesuiste, and commended his Graces intention for the punishment of papistes, and such as latelie had heard masse. He answered me, after much talke thereabout, that he had but God only to serue, which he would endeavour to doe [to] the vttermost of his power, and keepe amitie with her that had been so good vnto him. He told me him self that, within a day or twoo, a number of papistes, which had hearde masse, should be araigned, and the Lord Maxwells self. I commended his doinge therein, the cause beinge Godis, and the quietnes of his countrey, which he ought to defend, but hoped that he would take one example of the Queene my mistres, which is to ioine mercy with justice. 'That (said he), is the best sacrifice to God. But,' sayeth he, 'I haue found this man stubborne in his opinion.' He told me of a goode likelihoode of agreement betwene him and the Ministers, for the orders of the Church, wherein, as I heare by others, he hath taken greate

paynes hime felf. Whilest I was thus in talke with him, espying in my hand her Maiesties private letter, curioullie sealed and made vp, ' Good faith,' (fayes he, smilinge), ' ye haue somethinge els for me.' Whereat kissing the letter, I gaue it him, which he receaued with a merie countenance, and perusinge the sealing and direccion, (said he), ' I knowe this hand writt well ynough, but I cannot read it without a knife to open it:' which when he had done, he tooke me some what aparte, and said vnto me, I promise vppon mine honour, her Maiesties desire in this letter shalbe performed: so, vnbuttoning his doublett, he putt the letter in his bosome. This done, I tooke my leaue, craving a newe time for further declaracion of that which I had to say, which, he sayed, should be with in a day or twoo. I desired to knowe which of his Councell it would please him to meate for me to deale with in the matters of my charge. He answered, first with him felf. I comended vnto him the good service of such as his Grace had employed towards my soueraigne, as the Master of Gray, the Justice Clerke, and Mr Keeth. He gaue her Maiestie thanckes for the honour that he had receaued in them. I not knowing the Secretary, he said he would make mine acquaintance with him; which yet is not done, neither haue I as yet spoken with him, but expect, with in a day or twoo, to talke with him at my lodginge. Ere I departed I saluted all the Lordes in prefence, and so retiring was reconducted to my lodging by the Justice Clerke, Carmighell, and otheres. I finde the Justice Clerke well affected to the amitie, and furtherance of the league. He hath dealt openlie and plainlie with me in diuers matters, specially howe small accompte is made here of my French riuall. He told me of the vnkindnes betwixt the Master of Gray and the Secretary, almost mortal. I told him that my coming was as well to take vpp debates generallie, as to treat of the league betwene theyre Maiesties; and that he liked well of.

Soone after my coming to my lodging, comes vnto me the Master of Gray. Many complementes passed betweene vs. He confesth and speaketh much of the honour that he hath receaved of her Maiestie, promisinge to acknowledge the same to his lives end, offering his seruice with the formost for the furtherance of any cause I had in hand, specially

for the league, wherein he would doe his vttermoft to further it nowe to her Maiefties contentment, and maynteyne it hereafter for the quietnes of both countries.

He and [the] Iuftice Clerck doe affure me, that the Kinges handes are cleane from receauinge of any princes golde hitherto, though the offers haue been great and promifes large, to the which, through neceffitie, he will be brought to incline very fhortlie, or from her Maieftie receaue fuch fupporte as in expectacion hath beene long, and is nowe, looked for, according to the former promifes and fpeeches that haue beene made by fome from her Maiefty to him; and as theis twoo perfonages putt me in hope, and doe affure me, that that beeing done, there neither wilbe, nor can be, any thing to ftay the performance of the league. So haue the aduerfaries to the fame noe other thinge to alledge, but the vncerteinty therof, and long delays therein, whereas here it is prefently to be had. I leaue this to her Maiefties wifdome, and your Honours remembrance, what I haue to promife if the league take effecte. I befeech your Honour let me fpeake it merilie out of Terence, and make it you knowe as you pleafe, *Pecuniam in loco negligere, interdum maximum eft lucrum*, and, *bis dat, qui cito dat*. But anfwere me not as the fame author fayeth, *ſententias loquitur carnifex*.

After the writinge of thus much, wherewith I purpoſed to end this letter, the Lord Claud Hamilton came vnto me, and in long ſpeache acknowledged all her Maiefties favour and benefites towardes him, promifing faithfull ſeruice to her Maieftie during his life, and any thing that lawfully he may doe for her. And this he deliuered in noe leſſe earneſtnes of wordes to me, then he had written before to Sir John Fofter. He promifeth me that nothinge ſhalbe left vnperformed by him, or his, to accompliſh her Maiefties defire and contentacion. After his Lordſhip was gonne, there came vnto me the Secretary. Much good time was ſpent betweene vs, who could excede others in complementis and cunning ſpeeches. Much talk we had of his brother, and favours receaued in England; but hoped that his dealing ſhould tend to a better end, having that good place which he hath vnder his Maifter, to the furtherance of all good offices of amitie betweene the countries. He concluded, that whatfoeuer wanted in his brother ſhould, to the vttermoft of his power,

be performed by him, speciallie for the furtherance of the league nowe in hand. He desireth that, as the acquaintance is alreadie begunne betweene your Honour and him in letteris, that the same may be continued, and triall taken of him, what goodwill he beareth to her Maiesties seruice. Thus we ended in good termes, good wordes, and greate kindnes. Judge you of our heartes as ye finde vs.

After he was departed Mr Keethe came vnto me from the Kinge, as he said, who prayed me to write vnto her Maiestie in the favour of James Hudfon, the Kinges fervant, who hath a sute vnto her Maiestie. What it is I knowe not, but he movid it vnto me with great earnestnes, as so comaunded from the King his maister, with a letter also to be deliuered vnto him. Thus much for this first dispatch, Sir. From Edinburgh.

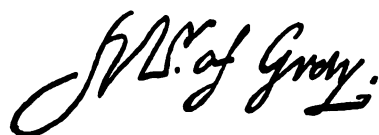
THE MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHELEY.¹

MY LORD, amongst many courtaiffies I did refave from Mr Randolphe, hir Maiesteis Embassadour, the freindlie speechis, it pleasit you send me as of befor from Villiam Keythe, the Kingis late messinger, a letter from your Lordship. In recompence I shall honour you till I leve, and shall use your counsell, and euer shall continue to be, efter my moyens, a good instrument betuix the realmes and princes so long as I am present. Bot the treuthe is, I veirie to ly ydle at home, and, in grace of God, intendis to mak a voyag þis summer, vithe thre or four 1000 men, vitche shall tend to the veil of bothe the countryis: and becaus I maid first my offe to serue hir Maiestie and hir Lieutenant in þe Low Countryis, I vil abyd til I refave ansuer from my Lord of Leicester; and if I go in þat service, it is verie treu it gainis þis point, þat it embarkis the King my Souveraine so agenst Spaine, that heir Jesuistes shall never have place to retir, it vil enter betuix Spaine and him in futche diffidence. And if I go not in þe voyag of the Low Countryis, than I must pray your Lordship to assit

¹ From the original among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 46, art. 58.

me, at hir Maieftis handis, for help of fum fchipping for my former diftyny, and hir Maieftie fhall knou that it fhallbe verie proufitable for hir eftet. Bot I remit the particulars till I refaue anfuer from my Lord of Leicefter tuitching this uther propofed ftait: prefentlye vil tak leue in comitting your Lordship to Gods bliffit protection. Edinb. 2 Martii, 1586.

Your Lordships to do you fervice,



To the Right Honourable my Lord Bourghley,
Highe Thefaurer of England.

THE MASTER OF GRAYES SPEACH TO THOMAS MILLS.¹

GAUALION. How goes your French matters, and your iorney?

GRAY. As to my iorney, how euer matters goes, I haue refolued.

GA. But in cafe you goe not shortly, ye will not get leue to lift men.

GR. Why, and who fhall impeach me?

GA. *Monfieur, Je parlerey à vous librement comme de coustume.* The matters are purposed to be attempted vpon the ground, that once your Lordships felfe should haue bin a doer in, and therfore it is a question among them here, whether you be suffered to lift men or not; and once they were of opinion that you lifted men, and the King to haue feased and ftayed them to his vfe.

GR. By God, as to ftaying of any pat I lift, they would be deceaued, for I would put them away by companies as I lifted.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 99, fol. 179, where this article is dated 10th April 1586. Thomas Mills seems to have come to Scotland in the suite of Mr Randolphe, the English ambassador.

GA. Then, but as touching the attempt, what ground has it, or for what purpose?

GR. For releyuing the Queen of Scots.

GA. They will not prevaile in that, for how sone they enter England they will haue her head, and foe shall they want her alive.

GR. Nay, that is not the scoope; for albeit they mist of her, yet they cast their accompt pat can they once subuert the estate of England, and alter religion there, they make reckoning the King shall become Catholique incontinent.

GA. But how can this be done?

GR. They purpose to see and attempt the King in case he will doe any thing for his Mothers reliefe, if not, they shall attempt it notwithstanding. But it is hoped pat the King shall concurre with them.

GA. What here you for that?

GR. By God, the Kings owne word.

GA. I cannot beleuee you, Sir.

GR. I assure you it is true, or ells the greatest counsellor in Scotland deceiues them.

GA. I trowe you meane pe Secretary. And knowes he of this matter?

GR. That doeth he. And farther I shall say this much, the French Ambaffador, speaking with the King this other daye, sayes to him, pat he vnderstood of many matters propounded to his Maiestie of great thingis, but, would he giue him audience, he should lay greater matters in his lappe, and lay him out a readier and surer way then that he was borne in hand with. Quoth the King, 'when I see the same I shall answere you; for I wilbe glad of my aduantage when I see it.' 'Well,' quoth the Ambaffadour, 'then I shall shew your Maiestie more within this moneth.' Besides G. Douglas hath brought with him a letter in cypher from the Duke of Guyse, and offred it him; but the King hath refused to receiue it till a time. He has brought also lettres to the Lord Clawd from the 2 bushoppes.

GA. But tell me, who are the hiters in this?

GR. The Duke of Guyse, Delbens, or de Mayne, Prince of Parma, or Duke of Sauoy, after credit taken with Guiuera.

GA. And where will they land?

Farrell sundry letters
by noblemen to be sent
into France.

GR. Between Humber and Tuede, in case they drawe their men out of Flanders.

GA. They haue forces in Flanders already pat they will sone call home?

GR. Then, that action failes to the aduantage of the Spaniard. If they abide, the realme will be the weaker, and this they accompt of to begin in September.

GA. To whome are the handling of these thingis committed here?

GR. To Hay and Dury, Jefuists of this country, and such as they trust; such as G. Douglas.

GA. But in all this I see a great difficulty; for it wilbe hard for them to land without a partie.

GR. The Papists of England haue offered that, when euer they shall see a power landed, they wilbe xx^m men. But ere it be affayed, they looke to see confusion among themselues, for I shall giue you my hand, if the Queene be not taken away yet ere Michelmas.

The Popes 20,000.

SIR, the Ambaffador brought with him 8000^l, besides 2000^l roleus. That the Secretary hath receaued money, and Kolinknows¹ 1000^l. His suspitious speach to Lestrick,² that it should not be good aduise to the King to suffer his people to serue, out of his realme, anothers turne. At a second conference he made great difficulty to discouer the part of the Queene; but said they were halfe a dozen, nether Italien nor French, but rather Flemish, as he thought. Sir, ther names he knowes not, but pat they are already in England to doe the feat resolutely. There were but fix that knew their names and perfons, viz. the Queen mother, Duke of Guyse, Prince of Parma, Paver Parsons, Paver Oland de Corayne, and Corfelles. The French Ambaffador knew not them, but is only acquainted with the purpose, nor the French King; that this Ambaffador was not sent by the King, but by the Queene mother and Monsieur de Guise. The Erle of Westmoreland was at Paris to haue come, but wanted filuer. The two men, with G. Douglas, landed at Yarmouth. Remember Barnabys tale of Arran at Stirling: to speak with the Jefuists Holt and Dury,

They purpose to outbid the Queen 40 thousand^l pensions.

¹ Sir James Hume of Cowdenknowes.

² Logan of Restalrig.

or Hey, about the money, and what they vndertooke. The matter of Maxwell was a pollicy of them, but hindred them greatly. They haue sent for a part of the iij^m 800^l in deposit to be sent hether, and is attended here by the first opportunity in Jaques Meluins fregot of Deepe. The Masters opinion, to continewe diuision here amongst themselues, must be the best remedy to conteyne a partie and order quietnes in England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, I finde that both you and I haue beene vnkindlie dealt withall, by the Lord Secretary of that realme, touchinge the reporte that I should aduertise him of an informacion receaved from you, that he shuld be an enemy to the league. I am forrie that the gentleman should deale so hardly with me, as either to make me an author of such an vntruth, or els to be so evill an instrument to breede discorde betweene persons of your qualities. Mr Douglas knoweth howe earnestly I desire that the late jealousies and vnkindnes grown betweene you might, by some good mediation, be accorded, and therefore can best cleare me in this behalf. I find both by Mr Randolphe and Mr Milles, howe honourable and carefullie you ymploye your credite in furtherance of the intended league, as one that forfeeth the publique benefite, that may growe thereby, to both oure Soueraignes and their kingdomes; which course, I doubt not, but you will continue, vntill the league be fynished and performed in such forte as, by all honest well affected subiectes and seruantes, is desired. What I haue done, touchinge the levie for the Lowe Countries, you shall vnderstand by Mr Archibald and Mr Tyrie, who are bothe departed hence. And so, Sir.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 100, fol. 180. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 13th April 1586.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

MY HUMBLE DEUTY REMEMBERIT, as I writ onto your Honour from Berwik, that the reportis that I had herd theyr wer so manye and so contrarious, that I culd not affirm any of them be lettir, onto such tyme as I had bettir exemenit the reportis, and the occasion moving the reportis there-onto; so that I saw convenient to stay the sending of the sayde lettir, onto such tyme as fordur mater mycht occurre.

I arryvit at my Lord Ambassadouris lodging in Edinburgh vpoun the xxvij herof at nycht. Vpoun the morrou in the morning, the Master of Gray com onto me, and declarit how he had agrit vyth Secretary Maytland, at my deffire as he alledgit, and that the Secretayr was now reddy to do all that I wuld deffire him to do, that mycht ferue for my veifayr. When, as we wer talking, the sayde Secretayr fend onto me the Provost of Lyncleuding, declaring that he wes aggryt vyth the Master of Gray, bot he culd not tak it in gud part that I had forgottin the grit frendshipp betwixt his broder and me, and the not making him acquainted vyth my intering in Scotland; as onto him he onderstode nothing, quhill of layt that he onderstode I was to be at Bervik, whear he had fend his kynsman to vesit me; and that the King had declarit onto him, at his going to Falkland, that I was to be in Edinburgh one of these two dayis, and had villit him to deffire me to haif patience at the Ambassadours lodging to his returning, which shuld be verray shortlye, at which tyme I shuld knau his Maiesties fordur pleasur. I scho him that I ressevit his Maiesties derection, and his aduis, in gud part. Thaireftir the Master openit onto me a longe discourse, the stat of the cuntry, and all the particularties, viz. such, as the Ambassador, be several letters, had mayd craving onto your Honour of befor, vyth this addition, that the Secretary his gritnes vyth the Kinge did confes, in this, that he had sett down certayn plattis onto

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 114, fol. 197.

the King, how he mycht preserve his stayt in obedience, and be in estimation and credit vyth foryn princis; and because the end of these platts caryit vyth thaym certayn protraction of tyme, he thoht it wold be harde to move the Kinge in his contrar, vnto such tyme as he myht know the fynale furetes, or than myht onderstand sum vther bettir meanis how he myht atteyn to the sam. And as to the particular of the plattis, he culd not parfitly declayr thaym, but he schaw me that the Kinge vas werray ernes to heir me speik of theise matteris, and vas affurit that he wald oppen thym onto me his self, aftir that he had once spokin wyth me. His Maiesty retornit from Falkland this Fryday, and vent to Dalkeyth, whear he sithyn remains. The Master of Gray vas send for to come to him. He thocht it ves to conferr vyth him vpoun the maner how I myht speik vyth his Maiestie. This is all that they vyll towartis my pryvat state. As towartis my opine in the publick of this realm, I must crave that I writ not at larg theyrof, onto such tyme as I haif spokin with his Maiestie, and vtheris gydarris of the Court, that offeris me grit frendshipp, which I shall wythin two or thre dayis after the dayt hereof.

The Master of Gray hath, vpon ouerturis mayde to him, that it vas metest that he shuld deall vyth marchantis that ar in this realme, quhose substance is not verray grit, that he vilbe able to leuvy ten thowfsand French crownis, for the raising and transporting of the saydis forces, providing that he may know quha shal pay the saydes marchantis, ather at London or Holland. He affirms that he vill haive forces in redines vpon sex veukis efter that he shall reffeue commandiment for levying of theym. The hole capitains, and one gud part of them foddartes, ar such as hath servit of before in the Low Country. Bycaus that vyth expeditioun the King may heir ather from her Maiestie, or from my Lord of Leyster, for desiring or craving of such forces as ar neydful, he affirms that he can leavy what nombre you shall please demand, onder ten thowfsand, but the nombre that he presentlye intendis to haife in reddines are thre thousand footmen, and tuo companyes of horfmen. Of this mater, vythin tuo or thre dayis I think, he shall vrite at gretar lenth onto your Honour, which he cannot presently do, because he is in dealing vyth the King, and to be heir the morrow in the morning. In this midft tyme I hafe takin the

boldnes to certefy this farre, for answering of your Honoris lettre that I reffavit this xxix of April, onto fuch as I may moyr certaynly vryt of all matteris, which I think fhallbe fhortly: And fo leaving fordar to trouble your Honor, I humblye take my lefe: ffrom Edinburgh the xxix forfaid.

Your Honoris moft
humble to command vyl prov it,



To the right honorable Sir Francis
Walsingham Knight, principal
Secretary to her Maiestie.

After the ending of this lettir, I reffevit an lettir from the Master of Gray, declaring that the King his pleafure is to fpeik vith me at his houle on Monday next.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

THE Kinge would rather that hir Maiestie demaunded the feruice of his fubiects, then himfelfe to offer the fame, becaufe he hath fo long deferred the making of the faid offer.

Money cannot be had by exchange.

He canne within fix weekes, or one moneth, prefent 6000 choice men, and well led together: Defireth haft to be vfed in the matter, and that the firft courfe may ftande, which was refolued on before Mr Douglas his departure.

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 116, fol. 200. This article is titled an 'Abstract' from the original letter, which appears, from an entry on the margin of the manuscript, to have been dated on the 5th May 1586.

The Kinge wilbe very constant, after he is once entered into the action.

To assure my Lord of Leycester that he will bring no leader over with him that is not well affected, howsoever some of them have bine otherwise reported of.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

MY MOST HONOURED BROTHER, If these few words expresse unto you the assuredness of my constant affection, they shall have performed the chief cause of my present sending unto you. And therein I pray you believe me, for while I live I will not fail you. My Lord² is exceedingly desirous to have your presence here; but, by reason there is not yet so full an established authority as there should, the means come in so slowly, as, in good faith, I know not whether I should with the coming of so dear a friend or no. This gentleman, the Conservator of your nation in Camphere, understands the nature of things as well as ourselves, and therefore he can plainly make you know what the estate both is in effect, and yet might be, if the Government were more soundly grounded. I have no more to trouble you, but to pray you for my sake to make much account of this gentleman, for I have found him my very friend: And which is the last, or rather the first point, hold me, I beseech you, in the gracious remembrance of your King, whom indeed I love. And so I take my leave, and leave you to the blessed protection of the Almighty.

Your faithful brother to do you service,

P. SIDNEY.

From the Camp before Numegen, this 17th
of May, 1586.

My most honoured the Master of Grey.

¹ From *Murdin's State Papers*, p. 557.

² Earl of Leicester.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

THERE is, since the time of Mr Archibald Douglas departure hence, fallen out some change in her Maiesties resolution, touching the manner howe she will vse my Lord of Leicesters seruice in the Lowe Countries; whereuppon the matter of your employment vnder him dependeth. For albeit her Maiestie was then content his Lordship should there exercise such power and authoritie as the States had there cast vpon him, bycause it appeared to be both for the weale of the countrey and furtherance of her seruice, yet hath she nowe, through the practise and secret workinge of some ill instruments that fauour the Spanish proceedings, and seeke, by all meanes, to thwarte and disgrace my Lord of Leicester, cleane altered her former purpose and disposicion in that behalf. By meanes wherof, my Lord of Leicester is consequentlie forced to change his determinacion for the calling of you into his companie, whereof, I knowe, he would have receaued great comforte, beeing very loathe so much as to encourage you to come to that seruice, where he cannot yeald you that enterteynement and satisfaccion that may be answerable to your desert and liking, and to his owne desire. For, where before his authoritie reached to the redressing of the confusion in gouernment, and orderly disposing of the contribucions to the vse of the due paying of the martiall men, which authoritie the Prince of Orange never enioyed in such ample manner, whereof ensued so great disorders and inconveniences in the course of their proceedings, by meanes whereof he might haue beene hable to haue provided for you and your company as apperteyneth; nowe that authoritie and comandement ceasing, whereby the wonted confusion will growe againe in the gouernment, and the States are likelie to convert the most parte of the said contribucions to their owne

¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215. From the original minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586.

private comoditie, as they did before, as his Lordship must of necessitie want meanes to geue you that interteinement that you may in reason looke for, which would be both a touche to himselfe in honour, and (to your owne noe small grief and discredite) worke the mislike towardis you of such gentlemen captains and soldiers as should attend vpon you, who, seeing themselues frustrate of their expectations, and reduced, perhaps, to haue termes, would doubtles wishe they had never seene you; the inconvenience whereof to your self, I doubt not but that you will so depely waye in your owne iudgment, as you will rather choose to susteyne at the first some litle touch, that this breaking of may be to your reputacion, then to put yourself in hazzard of a further disgrace, since it doth so vntowardly fall out that thinges do not take a better course. For, to be playne with you, my Lord of Leicester findeth himself so farr thwarted and discomforted in the seruice, that he is nowe become an humble sutor for his revocation, as you may further perceauue by the copie of his owne letteris, wherewith Mr Randolph shall, for your better satisfaccion, make you acquainted, to whose reporte I referre you.

I finde by Mr Randolph, the Kinge your Soueraigns dislike in that neether the sune promised was performed in so large measure as was looked for, nor the instrument of security sent in suche forme as was to your said Soueraignes liking, was, through your earnest and careful travaile, qualified in such sorte, as he was both content to accept the sune sent, as also that the treatie proceede to his full conclusion. Theise good offices done by you to the mutuall benefit of both Crownes, I hope will never be forgotten on our parte. I will not fayle, according to your earnest desire, to doe my best indeuour to procure that satisfaccion may be yealded to the King your soueraigne in both theis pointes, whose constant and princelie manner of dealinge in this cause hath wrought a very good conceipt in all goode mens hartes here towardes him, (who before had but a ialous opinion of him). I doe assure you that, as there are divers there that mislike of the proceedings of this treatie, so lack there not here men apt to hinder so good a work, that haue sought maliciously to revive former conceaued ialousies of onfound proceedinge here. It will, therefore, behoue well affected men, both here and there, to carrie a watch-

ful eie, in preventing the mallice of fuch malignant spirites. And fo Sir.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.¹

WHEREAS you did, by your letteris, write vnto me that, if th'intended imployment of the Master of Gray in the Lowe Countries goe not forward, it will be a great toucheing in credite to him. For my owne parte I assure you that none can be more sorrie for it then my self, as well for the good will I doe particularly beare to the Master of Gray, who hath deferved so well, as in respect of the cause whereof this change proceedeth, which is, in effect, that though her Maiestie was content, at the time of Mr Douglas his departure, that my Lord of Leicester should reteyne still his authoritie and charge of gouernment laid vppon him by the States, in case it should appeare that he could not relinquishe the same without preiudice to the cause, and hinderance of her seruice, yet hath she since taken another course of resolucion, by the practife and perfwacions of such as are addicted to Spayne, and vnfriendlie to my Lord of Leicester; who, by such meanes, wanting nowe that credite and authoritie that he had to redresse the confusion of gouernment, and dispose of the contribucions for the maintenance of the warre, hath, in reason, iust cause not to drawe a gentleman of the Master of Grayes desert and qualitie to that seruice, where he should not be able to yeald him that enter-teynment and satisfaccion that apperteyneth; which would found greatlie to his owne dishonour, and purchase to the Master the ill will and harme of as many as he should carry with him, when they should finde them selues in misery and voyd of all comforte. For my Lord findeth him self so discountenanced, crossed, and disgraced in the seruice, by the practife of ill instrumentis, that he is wearie him self of his continuance there, and fueth earnestlie to be called home againe. So far is he from

¹ From the original Minute in Secretary Walsingham's handwriting, dated 24th May 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 215.

doing the Master of Gray that wrong, as to encourage him to come to him at such an unseasonable time, as you may perceave by the copie of his owne letteris, which I fend you, as well ffor your owne satisfaccion, as to th'end you may be the better able to answere the Master, vnto whom you may also shewe so much of the said copie as you shall think good; whereby he may the more plainlie perceave that theis allegacions are true, letting him with all vnderstand, that howsoever this breaking of may, in some forte, be a touch to him in credite and reputacion, having alreadie waded so far into the action as he had done, yet he can, in his owne iudgement and discrecion, consider that it were better to break of at the first, then to hazzard further discredite and inconvenience, when those that shall serve vnder him may be reduced to such want and extremitie, as they will, perhaps, curse the time that ever they knewe him, to his owne infinite greife and disgrace.

Her Maiestie findeth by the contentes, as well of your letteris as of the Kings owne, that he resteth not yet fully satisfied in two pointes; the one, touching the sume of the Pencion, and the other for the Instrument. For the money, her Maiestie standeth very harde still to it, and yet my Lord Treasourer and my self have both dealt very earnestlie with her in the cause, but with such successe as we can neether hope nor dispayre that she will yealde to our advise. For th'other pointe, though her Maiefty conceived that her owne letter would haue sufficed, yet will she not stick, as I suppose, to yeald the King satisfaction of some such like instrument. For your manner of proceeding, touching the deliury of the Carres that stand charged with the murder of the Lord Russell, and the successe you haue had therein, her Maieftie resteth very well satisfied with all the resolucions of the persons of the Comissioners, and the time of their meeting with th'other is not yet certain, but I thynke the former choyce of my Lord of Rutland, my Lord Evers, and your self, and the appointment of the firste of July, will stand. I haue moved her Maieftie, aswell for the yeomen prickers, and groomes of the lease, as for horses and geldings of the King, but can yet drawe noe resolution from her in it, which is as harde to be had, even in theis trifles, as in matters of great importance.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, the malicious opposition and practise of Mr Archebalds enemies hath made his iustificacion the more cleere, for that otherwise it would haue bin giuen out, by such as stand ill affected towards him, that the Kings fauor wrought by frends had preuailed more in furtherance of his iustificacion, then his owne innocencie. And yet the world seeth that he must confesse, that, if he had not had foe honorable and constant a frend as your selfe, the mallice of his enemies might haue preuayled foe farforth as to haue oppressed his innocencie; and for that I doe professe my selfe to be one, (in respect of the loue I beare him), that is interessed in his fortune, I cannot but most hartely thanke you for your good friendship shewed vnto him, in a case pat foe greatly imported him, whome, I doubt not, but you shall find towards you a most constant and thankfull gentleman, as well for the same, as sondry other fauors shewed vnto him. Touching your employment in the Lowe Countries, though the Earle of Leyster hath of late by his letteris revyued some newe hope in you, I can noe wayes encourage you therevnto, for the respectis conteyned in my last letteris, and yet you shall doe well to gratefie the Earle foe farre forth as to send vnto him the troopes by him desired, if the King your Soueraigne shall vnderhand permitt the same. And as for yourselfe, if you will giue me leaue to be foe curious with you in your owne particular, I could aduise you to spend the rest of the somer in those countries in priuat fort, in company of Sir Phillip Siddney, who, I knowe, will vse you as his owne brother, besides the experience that you shall gett, (which will be farre greater then if you were tied to a publike charge). You shall, before you enter into any charge, first acquaint yourselfe with the state of those countries, the manner of the seruice, the disposition of the people, the entertainment and vsage of such as serue vnder them, the

¹ From the original Minute, dated 4th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

meanes that they haue for the continuance of the warres, and lastly, what wilbe our resolucion here, for the mayntenance of the Earles authoritie in such absolute forte as was yealded vnto him by the Stats, whervpon cheefly dependeth the good or bad succeffe of the cause; for, without the continuance of the said authoritie, the former confusion takeing place pat was there before, his repaire hether will worke their vtter ouerthrowe. I haue, according to your request, recomended Captaine Hagerston, both vnto the Earle and to Sir Phillip Sidney, and I doubt not, (notwithstanding former informacions giuen against him), pat he shall receiue all honorable vsage at their hands for your sake. Sorie I am to vnderstand by you, that the late banisht Noblemen of that realme doe carrie them selues foe weakely since their returne, as to suffer them selues to be abused by those who haue fought their ruine. Surely, Sir, the Kings dispensacion with Arrens departure will reuiue some vnnecessarie iealousies here. I could-wish therefore he would ether of himselfe, or were aduised by others, to take some such course herein as might minister noe cause of scandall. At the Court.

MEMORIAL CONCERNING A TREATY WITH SCOTLAND.¹

SCOTIA, JUNII 1586.

Memorial for Scotland.

THAT her Maiestie subscribe the articles
of the League to be sent vnto the King.

<p>IN this point I mistrust the Secretary wilbe curious, and take aduantage to cauell.</p>	<p>THAT her Maiestie satisfie him touching the instrument for the assurance of the pen- cion yerely hereafter, title, &c.</p>
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¹ Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128. From the circumstance of the hand-writing in the two columns being different, it is probable that this is the original Memorial. The first column appears to be the answers for Queen Elizabeth to the proposals in behalf of King James.

See his remembrances sent by me to your Honour. Her Maiesties promise being 20,000l English, it will be dangerous to send lesse, specially for the first time, feing the euill affected minds about the King, and that soe much is expected.

That I may cary be certaine resolucion hereof with me.

The Lord Threasurers letter to be Master.

Vpon the assurance of these 2 men depends all her Maiesties partie in Scotland and the continuance of the league; but aboue all men loofe not be Master.

Bycause of the extreme charges he is at, his want to hold it long out, and his own infirmities of body.

That for this first time the whole yeres pencion may be sent at once, as the Kings selfe desireth.

That her Maiestie name her Comissioners, appoint the time and place of meeting out of hand, as the King desireth for many causes. That the like may be there also appointed of equall degree and qualities.

Her Maiesties letters of her owne hand { To the King.
To the Master of Gray.
To the Lord Hamilton.

Your Honors letters of your owne hand { To the Master of Gray.
To the Secretary.
To Barnaby M^r Golegan.

That speciall regard be had of the Master of Gray and Lord Hamilton, the Secretary, Robert Cunningham, and Coldingknowes, with others, as Farret, Coluin, &c.

That against the time of the Commissioners meeting, Mr Randolph may haue leaue to retire to Barwicke, and there attend their coming, and her Maiesties further pleasure.

The cheefest point of all. Lastly, to aduise vpon the deliuery of the mony, what way is to be taken for þe assurance of the King, and suche about him as may hold him at her Maiesties deuotion.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.¹

SIR, Whereas in the Articles of the Treaty subscribed by their Maiesties, it is specially ordred in the 9th article therof, that the Princes shall fend their Commiffioners, within 6 moneths after the ratificacion of the League, to here and determine of such iniuries and controuerfies as haue growne on the Borders since this Kings gouernment; bycause it is intended that the same shall now be done at this meeting of Commiffioners, in reducing of those articles into the forme of other treaties, that 9th article is purposely left out and omitted, as needlesse and impertinent to be inserted into the League. And to the end there may be noe obstacle or hinderance in the seruice, by reason of any defect in the Commiffion of ether side, I fend you herin inclosed the coppie of her Maiesties Commiffion, which I wish you should shewe, that they there may be furnished with the like from þat King, and that they may accomplish the contentis of the 9th article presently; foe that these extraordinary causes being compounded, the ordinary course of iustice may proceed, by the frequent meeting of the Wardens of each Borders, to the reciproque comfort of the subjects of both Realmes. And to the end the Commiffioners may not spend long time in this treaty, to their owne chargis and the chargis of the princes from whome they are sent, it hath bein thought meete þat the Treaty should be reduced into some forme, and deliuered vnto the Earle of Rutland and the Lord Eure, wherof I fend you a coppie, which you may communicate, if you shall foe think good, vnto the Secretary there; which, conteyning the true substance of the articles, it is conceiued here, that they will not dislike of; but if they should dislike of, it were good that you and I,

¹ From a copy, dated 5th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 61, fol. 128.

before the meeting, by our mutual letteris shoud confider therof, and take some course for the remouing of the difficulties. From the Court.

This last night, fondry of the Bells, Carelells, Kirkpatrickes, and other Scottishmen, to the number of 100 persons or aboue, haue come into England, burnt vpon the water of Elke to the number of 80 houses (as I am informed), taken away about a 100 head of nolte, and 40 nags, with a greate bootie of infight and other goods from her Maiesties subiects in England, thus burned by them.

Postscript—Three dayes after, viz. the viijth of June, was the letter written for the addition to be made in the preface of the Treaty, and the ixth article thereof.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

Vpon the receipt of your Honours last letteris, I am nowe in dealing with the Master of Gray to reduce his unquiet state, through involving of himself in excessive chardges and trouble of minde, to compasse with his honour this intended voyage to the Lowe Countries, to some more quiet stay, by moving of him to be contented to remayne at home with his friends about the King, and in his accustomed credite. But trulie, if her Maiestie, or some other, shall not confider of his losse receaving by entertayning of captaines, and levyng of soldiers, wherof some number hath receaved money, I thinck he shalbe vtterly vndone.

Yf it shall stand with her Maiesties pleasure, that he should accept a comission vpon him, ioyned with myself, who is like to be destinate to doe the ceremony for obseruing of this league, I thinck it should doe him greate good many wayes, hereuppon, I pray you, let me have your Honours oppinion with as great speede as you shall thinck meete.²

¹ This is an extract from a letter of the 9th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art. 138, fol. 226.

² Randolphe, the English Ambassador, also writes (5th August 1586): 'Touchynge the Master of Grays abode here, and staye of his journaye, I have dealte with hym so earnestlie as I maye. Kerr, this gentleman, is sente agayne from him. Your Honour shall receave

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS RANDOLPHE.¹

I PERCEAUE the Queen and my Lord of Leftors defireft I fhould continue my choife for the leuie of men for Flanders. I am as willing as at any time before, but, as I wrote to your Lordship, of late I fhould fee the matter tend to fuch delay, that, before God, I was altogether defperate of it, and began with the King an other courfe; fo pat if now I fhould flide in where I was, except it proceed from fome other, he fhall thinke it in mee a note of inconstancie. Therefore, I pray you, that her Maieftie will doe that curtefie for me, to craue it of the Kinge, and I fhall be ready with all expedition, for I defire the purpofe for many respects. From Dunfermling.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.²

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, Since my laft vnto you, it hath pleased his Maiefty, my foueraigne, who was in the partes of Fife at my arrivall to Edinburgh, to appoint the Mafter of Gray his lodging there for admiffion of me to his prefence, which was vppon the flowerth of May, where the Nobilitie, and fuch of the Councell as was prefent, receaved the bannkett. Before the King came in the houle, the Secretarie had fome conference with me in a private chamber, where he affirmed the Lordes vnderftood

his owne answer. The gentleman is greatly perplexed; his charges have byne greate; he hathe borrowede greate sommes of monye; divers compaynies of soldiers all reddie, and the drume daylye soundinge to leaue greate numbers, and hathe the Kings lycens vnder the greate feale; all which I have feen and hearde, but leave yt vnto your Honour to iudge therof as yow thynke good, not willinge, I am fure, to drive fo good a frend and fervant to that inconvenient that he fhall foreuer loofe bothe honour and credit, and foreuer lyve with fhame.' Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. art 196.

¹ From a copy, bearing date 19th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 235.

² From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 119, fol. 203.

I was lodged to their greif, ffor that they were not made acquainted with my returne in Scotland, but that the fame was done only by the King; and, therefore, they suspected that I had some secrete course with him that might tend to their hurte. I assured him I meant no harme to no Scottefshman; but my coming home tended to this end, that I might be disburdened of the heavy sclander wherewith I had beane charged; and for this effect I would seeke both his Lordship and their favourable assistance when any occasion should be offered. After some propose of complement, he prayed that their might be playne dealing betwixt him and me, vppon knowledge therof he would assure me of his friendship in all matters that might touche me. I promised honest and playne dealing, so as he would assure me of the like. When as we were speaking, aduertisement was made that the King was coming, and comaunded that noe man should remayne in the chamber. After whose entrey some speeches beeing vttered by me, in commendacions of his humanitie, that so far had humbled him self as to come where one of the meaneft of his subiectes was prisoner, I deliuered hir Maiesties lettre, which beeing read, he vttered theis or the like speaches:—‘At your departure I was your enemie, and nowe, at your returning, I am and shall be your friend. You are not ignorant what the lawes of the realme are, and what best may agree with my honour to be done for your suretie. I must confesse her Maiesties request in your favours to be honourable and favourable, and your desire to haue triall by affese to be honest; and I my self doe beleue that you are innocent of my Fathers murther, excepte in foreknowledge and concealing: a fault so comon in theis daies, that noe man of any dealing could misknowe, and yet so perillous to be revealed, in respect of all the actors of that tragedie, that noe man, without extreme danger, could vtter any speache therof, bycause they did see it, and could not amend it. And therefore, I will impute vnto you, neither foreknowledge, neither concealinge, and desire that you may aduise with my Secretarie what way may be most agreeable to my honour and your suretie in triall, and it shalbe performed.’ After that I had giuen thanks vnto his Maiestie, I could not forbear to let his Highnes vnderstand that it did appeare to me, that whatsoever it should be done in my favour were best to be

done at her Maiesties request; to the which he yealded. Thereafter he said to me, ' You haue nowe bene long in England, and hath, as I am informed, knowne her Maiesties meaning towards the title that I pretend to that crowne, when it shall please God to leaue that place vacant, and in like manner doth vnderstand the disposition of the mindes of her Highnes Councell therein, I desire you freelie deliuer vnto me what inclination you finde in them to my welfare in this matter.'

My answere was, that it was very true that I had bene long in England, and therefore necessary it would be for me, if I should trulie answere to his Maiesties question, to make diuision of the time of my abode, and to let his Maiestie vnderstand what opinion was had at every season or time that mutacion in gouernment had occurred in his owne realme, which was euer conceaved in opinion according to the nature or qualitie of the mutacion that happned to fall out. It pleased his Maiestie to vse some interruption ere he heard any further, and said, ' I knowe what you meane; you would lett me vnderstand that I am burdened and slandered for other men their dealinges. When matters shalbe well determined, my meaning shalbe, at all times, founde to be constant and friendlie towards her Maiestie. And of this parte I can take your self to record what hath bene my inward minde towards her Maiestie, ever since that time I directed the Master of Gray towards her Highnes, who hath since his returning at all times assured vnto me that I was mett with the like good minde, and if that be true, you are able to lett me vnderstand it.' I answered, that I well vnderstood that the Master of Gray had done the dutie of a trustie servant, and had done many good offices there, speciallie in removing of many doubtles that had receaved deepe impressions, aswell in her Maiesties minde, as in the mindes of the best sorte of that realme; which doubtles were growing vpon some ill proceedinges and wrong informacion geuen out to his Highnes defadvantage: who were the reporters I knowe not, but the reportes were geuen out in all partes. He said, he did well vnderstand that he was calumniated by seditious men that he had made deffertion in religion; that he was blood thirsty; that he was inconstant in friendship, and vntrue in keeping of promese. But he tooke God to his witnes, how vntruly he was slandered in these pointes, by his indefcreete

preachers and unnaturall subiects, that he beleeeved noe prince would allowe of, and speciallie her Maiestie beeing a prince subiect to the like slander her self, if she should permitt unbridled subiects to speake their pleasure of their naturall Prince. My answere was, that her Maiestie was not a little greeved to hear, that any subiect durst presume to speake any matter of their prince, and often times had been moved besides modesty in geving comande, that insolency in speaking against whatsoever prince should be restrained; but speciallie had geven direction that no imodeest minester should be tollerated to preach, lest they might haue used some vndecent speech, which she would haue noe wife left unpunished, if it had beene againste his Maiestie. But of late all matters was reduced in such state, that might concerne his Maiestie in that realme, that noe man durst vtter any such speech as heretofore had beene spoken of. And if any should be so foolish, they would not fayle without delay to receaue punishment; and great expectacion was had thereof of late, that he would not alter the course he had begunne, neether exceed the boundes of reason, for any man his pleasure. After some speech of my Lord Treasurer and your Honour, in asking of your opinions of himself, and that I had fullie satisfied him thereagainst, he entred in some speache of the late Chauncelor, and of Colonell Stewart, alleadging him to be a simple bodie, (so he termed him), and was ready to departe out of this realme, and the other was alreadie departed, either to Ireland or some other place; so that he had left nothing vndone that had beene craved of him, excepting against some certain rebellious Englishmen, that had beene heretofore required, and the satisfaccion of her Highnes in honour, towards the murder, which he with all his heart lamented, of Sir Frances Ruffell, against the Iesuites, so he did terme the rebells; as God should be his Judge, he knewe not presentlie where they were, but he would expell them his realme, and would make certificacion to all such as had kept them, if they were found to be in the realme, he would deliver them. And to such as were suspected of that lamentable murder, he would leave nothing vndone that might satisfie her Maiestie, so that the same might not bring him in disgrace of his subjects, which he beleeeved her Maiestie noe wife desired; and if any contravenors of his intencion should be found within his realme,

he was minded to invade them, and would ere nowe have performed the same, yf his owne realme had beene reduced to a quiet state; which he should shortlye see performed, if her Maiestie would affist him. I did answere, that I firmelie beleeeved her Maiestie would leaue nothing vndone that could be required in friendship, providing that he made her acquainted with his proceedinges, and founded his desire vppon reason. Besides this, I thought her Maiestie would be offended, if she should not be made acquainted that he stood in neede of any her assistance for the weale of his realme. It pleased his Maiestie to answere, That he had made noe creature acquainted with his meaning in that matter, but he spake it vnto me by way of discourse, which some day he thought to performe, to giue testimony of his good meaning. Finding him in so good termes, I said that there was divers of his frendes that mervayled, he beeing a Prince of so great expectacion, and in the age wherein courage was accustomable knownen rather by action than by speaking, that he made not offer to her Maiestie of sending his subiects in the Lowe Countrie, and thought also that it was not decent for his age to be idle, whenas her Maiestie and remanent Princes were in armes. Vppon this he entred in a long discourse, that I perceaved had beene putt into his head, of the difference betwixt offending and defending. To which both he confessed him self to be bound in divers degrees, and to offend alone such as would offend her Maiesties person or state; and for his owne parte, albeit he had divers times enquired if her Maiestie did esteeme the King of Spayne her enemye, he never could receaue directe answere there vppon; and notwithstanding therof, if he could be assured her Maiestie would esteeme that worthy of thanks, he would make offer of forces, in proporcion lesse or more, as he should knowe to be expedient for the service, and would excuse himself that he had so long delayed the doing therof. This is the some of all matters that had passed by his Maiestie at that time, when as the Master of Gray came to the chamber, and showed the King that the Lordes were inquiring for what was become of him, thereafter the King said to me, ' I can tarrie me no longer at this tyme; of this farre assure your self, that I will doe all that may serue to your contentment for your private surety, and within fewe dais will speeke further with you. In this mean

time, you may assure such of your friends as are in England of the sincerity of my meaning, and of the performance of such matter as heretofore I have promised to her Majesty's Ambassador.

Immediately after the King was retired, Secretary Maitland returned where I was, and said, he knew the King was put to great expectation that I would satisfy his mind in divers matters he remained doubtful. For his own part, he would be most glad that I might so do, but believed, by reason the time was so short that I was with the King, that there did remain somewhat more to be spoken unto his Majesty, which he would be glad to understand, and would endeavour him self to do all the good offices he could, both in my private state, and in any matter that might tend to the welfare of both the Crowns. After the giving of thanks, I shewed him that I had nothing wherein to deal with the King, until such time as I had received my trial, and for the obtaining thereof I prayed his friendship. He made answer, that he could be friend for him self; but he believed that the Lords, that was of late come out of England, had conceived some suspicion of my coming home, which moved them to think that I had some dealing with the King that might be to their prejudice. I answered, that my present state was such that I could not go out thence, neither openly abroad, until such time I had received my trial, that my friends might accompany me where they were, at which time I could satisfy their Lordships in all respects; in the mean time, I would move some friends be dealt with for removing that error—of that number I prayed his Lordship might be one. Then after he entered in a large discourse of the King his proceedings, that had so unadvisedly gone forward in the subscribing of this League, wherein no reciprocal dealing had been used, (so he termed it), as might appear by certain notes, in form of Articles, that he had delivered to her Majesty's Ambassador, and that the King had proceeded so far in his absence, and without the advice of his Nobility, that would not well agree to such kind of dealing; and for his own part, he could not in conscience forbear to give his Master his best advice, as well how to repayre that matter as to abstaine to go forward, if the instrument promised should be refused to be given, (so they terme that

lettre which was geuen to the Ambaffador). I answered, that his Lordship, beeinge wife, might well confider that fuch kinde of dealing might procure hatred vnto him, fpecially of her Maieftie, if he fhould affay to take back that which was already concluded. Befides, in the litle fpeache that I had with his Maieftie, it did appeare to me that he had wholly dedicated him felf to be at her Maiefties devocion; and if any fhould affay to diuerte him therefrom, iuft occafion of ill dealinge would be conceaued againft them by himfelf, that might produce very hard effectes; and I thought it was very perrillous for his ftate to enter in that courfe. His anfwere was, if the King and his Nobilitie did well agree, (as he beleeeved they fhould), there was no danger for him in that matter. Thereafter he confeffed to me, that he was entred in league or bonde with that parte of the Nobilitie that were comme home of late; as to the remanent, they would thank him and affift him; and as for the bond, there was nothing conteyned therein but that they ioyned them felves for the aduancement of the King his feruice; and therefore he was the more curious if I had any dealing, or was minded to deale, with the King, for drawing of him to the Quenes Maieftie of England her devocion, without their aduife or privitie. Towardes my owne parte, I fully fatiffied him in that point, and did give fufficient reafons that there was noe fuch meaninge, either in her Maieftie, or any of her counsellors. Albeit bothe refon and the veritie it felfe might haue led him to haue beleeeved my fpeache, yet my rethorique was not fo fufficient as to fully fatiffy him in this point. The reafons that movid him in the contrary were, that he vnderftood no nobleman in Scotland was dealt with [at] all in this matter of the League, except the King onlie; albeit in the power geuen to him mencion was made, that the fame fhould be concluded by the aduife of fuch of his Councell as he fhould think meeteft to make choice of. Befides that, it was not the cuftome (as he alleaged) of this realme, that the Nobilitie would giue their confent in any matter of fo great weight where they had not beene dealt with before, and therefore he thought that none of the Nobilitie, at leaft very fewe of them, would yeald their confent; and if pat were not done, he thought the King with time might be moved to confider of his fudden proceadure, which he

thought might some daye be reputed an error. He propounded diuers other argumentes, some of them *longe petita*. To all theis I answered, that I could not be perswaded that this course which he did propone could any whitt agree with their owne suretie, which, of necessitie, behoved to depend from her Maiesties credite with the King, which, if they would hinder the course of frendship betwixt the Princes, they should in like manner cutt of their owne suretie: Besides, I feared, if her Maiestie should be informed of any parte of their meaning, it would move her Maiestie to consent to goe further with the Kinge in private frendshipp then might well agree or stand with their welfare: Therefore, since foundes of frendship were knitt vpp amongst them, I prayed him advisedlie to proceede for his and their suretie, which I thought could noe wise subsist but by frendship betwixt thes twoo princes, whereby it was necessarie that the King should be bound by all meanes to the observing of quietnes; and the more straightlie that he should finde himself obliged to her Maiestie, the greater would be their suretie. This speech (as appeareth) rather did move him then satisfie him. And this was the somme of all that did passe amongst vs, the particulars whereof I am constrained to lay open vnto your Honour, (albeit I shall thereby haue noe better reputacion then to discourse as William Erle), to the end your Honour may better iudge vpon the present state then I [am] able to declare any found opinion, which, notwithstanding, I will not forbear, (according to my present knowledge), to sett downe vnto your Honour, so far as I can either learne or vnderstand by speaking with the King.

There is not in all his realme anie gentleman, of whatsoever estate, more at her Maiesties deuotion then the King him self, and so would continue by all appareance, if he shalbe suffered to goe forwardes with his owne inclination and love towardes her Maiestie. On the other parte, it may be well vnderstood by confederacies and other proceedinges, amongst such as are affociate, that their meaning is to alter his minde, and to bring him to another course; if not at this present, with time they minde to performe it, (as by diuers plottes which some of them hath propounded vnto the King will appeare.) The some whereof her Maiesties Ambassador, (who can verie sufficientlie discharge that office), will more largelie make

to your Honour knowne, as also of the proper remedies that he hath vsed, and will vse, for remedying of such inconveniencies as otherwise might suddenly fall out.

So to conclude this vnformall lettre, I am confreynd to lay open before your Honour the vnquiet state of the Master of Gray, who having founded his desire to doe her Maiestie service, vppon this argument, that the King his maeſter could never be made ſure to her Maieſtie, and that realme, (ſpecially having conſideracion to thoſe that were about him); vnles he ſhould be inworked by action in any thing that might concerne her Maieſtie, or be to the benefitt of her ſtate, and conclude that I would craue to be ymployed for the leading of men in the Lowe Country. To which his deſire, the Secretary and thoſe affociates did oppone themſelves, whereuppon noe ſmall emulation hath growen amongſt them, which is not removed through any outward agreeance, but rather daylie increaſeth in ſuch ſorte as ſuch men as love him fares noe better for his cauſe. And albeit the King ſaid vnto my ſelf, that he would make offer of his people to ſerue in that country, and make excuſe that he had beene ſo long in doing thereof; yet the partie aduerſe hath ſince that time ſo altered his minde, that he now ſayeth he can not permitt any to goe in that iourney, vnles the Quenes Maieſtie ſhall declare vnto him that the King of Spayne is her enemy. And the Secretary hath ſaid to my ſelf, that the merchants of Scotland, that nowe finde ſome benefite by traffique in Spayne, and noe favour in England, hath made ſute to the King pat he ſhould not, without great cauſe, looſe the favour of that countrey. In the mean time, that the Maſter hath remayned in hope to be ymployed in that ſeruice. So many colonells, captaynes that hath ſervice in the warres before, gentlemen and knightes of good calling, have adioyned them ſelves vnto him in hope to goe in that ſeruice, that his ordinary number of that kinde of people is very greate, and daily doe increaſe. The names of moſt parte of them, pleaſe your Honour receave, with private note vppon ſome of them. Through their awayting vppon him, his charges dayly is vnſupportable for him to beare out. And that which is worſe, he knoweth not howe to bee ridd of them with favour, vnles he ſhall ſatiffy their expectacion by employing of them. Beſides this, it doth appeare that if he ſhall not be employed, his

credite with his master the King, by meanes of his enemies, shalbe shaken, and by consequence be vnable to doe her Maiestie seruice, according to his intendid meaninge. Pitty it were a perfonage so well devoted to her Maiesties seruice, and of so good deservng, should be in danger to perishe. I will pray your Honour to confider hereof, and to move my Lord Treasourer, (vppon whose iudgement he affirmeth to depend), to send him your best advises what shall bee meetest for him to doe in this matter that toucheth him so neere. The names of the colonels, that your Honour may perceave to be marked, haue beene noted with some suspitious seruice, and doubtful, and yet they doe affirme that they are able to cleare themselves. Twoo of them speciallie, Halkerston and Panton, are of highe humours, tending rather to too much then too little, speciallie Panton, that inclines somewhat towardes mutiny. I haue had some speache with them all, but most speciallie with Colonell Boyde, who appeareth to bee of good nature. I haue had conference with him vppon his seruice that hath beene passed, wherein I thought he might be touched greatlie in honesty; and vnles he might make him to be knowne honest in that matter, I gaue him counsell that he should not offer him self in the presente service. He answered, that he was well able to make his honestie to appeare, and would not fayle for performing thereof, to goe in that countrey, albeit it should be without chardge, with one harguebushe on his shoulders for trying thereof. In the end it was concluded, that if so should be your pleasure, he would come to your self in England, and make his whole cause knowne to your Honour, and would in present manner let you vnderstand, that he would be well able to performe some secrete service that might put his honestie and reputacion to be voyd of all question. It may please your Honour to let me vnderstand yf you rest satisfied with his cominge to your Honour. He mindeth to departe from thence to the Lowe Countrey, for performing of the service wherewith he shall make your Honour acquainted. I haue beene these dayes past wried with the receauing of welcome from my frendis, that I could not get leasure to write of any graver matter. Most humbly I craue your Honours favour that this lettre may make my excuse to my singuler good Lord, my Lord Treasourer, whose honour I mind to trouble with ill writing, when

occasion shall be offered, of a more graver subject. And so, craving pardon for my boldnes to trouble you with so long a letter, I humbly take my leaue. ffrom my Lord Ambassadors lodging, at Edinburgh, this fixte of May, [1586].

Your Honours moste humblie to
command with service,

A Douglas

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

I RECEAIVED a letter of yours of the date of the xvjth hereof, and haue seene another to the Master of Gray, wherevpon he craues my aduise towards this mocion, made of late, of his iourney towards my Lord of Leicester.

Truly, Sir, the gentleman doth not a little marvayle, howe it hath fallen oute, that he was firste animated to the said voyage, then discharged, after noe small losse of expences bestowed, as well for his particular preparacion, as for the enterteynement of diuers that would haue gone with him in companie; besides, in respect of this discharge, he hath beene constreyned to take a newe course with him self for his private affayres, by settling his fortune with his Maister, and enterteyning of his former credite in his companie.

In respect of theis promisses, he prayeth me to consider with my self, howe vnseemelie it would be to haue to deale with the King, vpon the suddain, in the contrary, in a matter where vnto he had not only yeilded of before, but by meanes procured all those matters. He is constreyned to think vpon, by reason of the mutacion that worldlie matters are subject vnto, and to imagine thence this deliberacion may alter, as others haue

¹ From a copy bearing date 23d June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 237.

done, and by consequence indanger his credite and whole reputacion, besides the losse of his goodes and fortune that he hath alreadie susteyned, which are more then his state can beare; wherein I can be a witnes by my self, that hath neither left nor shall leaue any thing vndone, that may aduance either your Lordships desire, on his said voyage or welfare. But what counsell is to be geuen in theis matters, hardlie can I tell, alwaies this farre we haue concluded to pray your Honor be assured that the same mind to doe her Maiestie seruice, and to the said Erle all the seruice and good offices he can devise, doth as yet remayne in his minde as before; but neither the meanes, neither the libertie of him self, are so great as before they were to performe that matter, which he with so good will would accomplish. The nearest way how theis matters may be helped, he thinkes, wilbe that either her Maiestie or the said Erle may be movid to write to his said Soueraigne, that he may be perswaded to geue comand to him to goe forward in the said iourney; to this effect he did pray me to accompanie a letter to your Honour, which I could not refuse.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

I HAUE noe further to write presentlie, excepte that which I haue alreadie certified to my Lord Ambassadour, who will make your Honour acquainted therewith.

I fend you herewithall this, with inclosed copie of a letter to the Master of Gray from my Lord the Erle of Leicester. By letteris from the said Master, your Honor will vnderstand of what intention he doth remayne towarde this voyage to the Lowe Countrey, and what impedimentes appeareth necessary to be removed. I am of that opinion, if her Maiestie cannot be movid to write the King for the furthering of that iourney, neether that the Erle his letter can come hither with speede required in this matter, that it shalbe well done that the Ambassadour be instructed to

¹ From a copy dated 27th June 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. fol. 241.

deale in this matter with the King, who hath, I assure you, conceived a very good opinion of him.

His Maiestie is presentlie here at Dunfermling with the said Master, and to remayne for the space of vij daies after the date hereof. Our Secretarie hath also beene heere to moue his Maiestie in some matters tending to delay of his League, and for streight going forward in theis matters of Border; but hath not prevailed. The French Ambassadour hath beene at Courte since the arrival of this messenger from that realme. His chieftest errand was to folicit, that noe man should goe out of this realme to the Kinge of Navarre; and to shew the King of his master his good succeffe in busenes at home, he doth constantlie affirme that the Erle of Leicester is sick; whereof I haue thought good to make your Honour aduertified. Comonly such proceedinge brutes from that careles notion of mens lives accompanied with ill effectes; at least experience may teach men that, in times passed, such brutes hath not resen vnto such time as the intencion of the enemy was well founded. It hath pleased him also to speake his pleasure of me to the King. But I beleeve the graunting of libertie to such men to come hither, by permission, shall breede more harme to the comon cause, then against me in particular. And so, Sir.

From Dumfermling.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.¹

I AM commandit by his Maiestie to vryt to you a feu lines, and, before God, if euer I haid credite at your hands, I must now imploy it for his Maiestie. In some difficulties pat occuris in this meiting of the Comissioners for the League, but cheifly in the nint article, vitche hes, as appeiris, procedit from your self, for if ye haid lattan it be in the forme it ves firste fet doun, noe contrauention haid rylin of it: Bot now the dif-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 245.



ference is in the tym, vitch the King defyris to be from his Coronation, and it is set down in the subscriuit League only from the acceptation of the Gouvernement in his auin hand. The cause of this comes by reason the King is informit, pat the skaithes dune to England of lait yeiris ar so gryt, pat he and his subiects are not aible to repay them, vithout they be recompensit by fume dune of befor by England to his realme and subiects. Bot pis is a maiter that requyris a long disputation, and hardly can be defydit at pis tym. Thairfor, according to your desyr in a pairt, the Kings Maiestie craueis pat the nynt article be omittit in the League; and forder, pat the reasoning of it be continuut, ether to the meiting of the Lieutenantis for bothe the realmes, or than til futche tym as expresly Commiffioners be deput for pat effect; vitch is, in pe self, verie veichtie. Sir, lat it be dune, I pray you, for, befor God, the Kings Maiesties honourable and princely dealing at pis tym meritis more pan pat he craues, for he hes shauin him self so veil affectit at this tym, pat many of his auin subiects accomptis him a better English man than Scotise man. Thairfor, I pray you oneis agene, that he be accordingly delt vitheall, seing the maiter contrauentit is of no gryt importance, and futche a maiter as I am affurit the Queins Maiestie vil neuer mak a question in vith his Maiestie. The only regret is, pat the Noble menis stay at the meiting by it shall be some quhat long, bot pe remed is the soner to heast ansuer. And I pray you lat it be, for you shall find many heir quho feikis no better occasion than this to cast all thingis afe. Mr Myllis can tell you quhou nobly and fracly the King spak pis day in this maiter: so in that I remit me to him.

Yesterday I refaueit from my Lord of Leicefter dyuers letters, bot all tending to one effect, desyring pat he may speik vith me in Vest Holland; bot all ver befor Captaine Hakerstouns arryuell thair, so pat nou I think he hes chaingit deliberation. Bot vpon vord from him, I shall leaue no thing vndune pat I can, albeit in deid it lyis not in my hand to do so mutche as of befor, for the reasonis conteinit in my former letteris. Bot the remedys ar to you knowin, and yit I shall repet them shortly: first, in respect pat it pleasis pe King nou to giue me pis same place I haid of before, I can not leaue him, bot by his auin command. Secondly, seing I frustrat bothe my self, and all pe gentlemen and captaines my sodiouers,

to our grypt chairgis, it shall be a thing not possible to harness them the second tym with out a grypt certaintie, for they se all worldly coursis subiect to chaingeis. Than, ether the Quenis Maiestie, or my Lord, or bothe, must craue it of the King, and present moyens must be send for pe satisfaction of the gentlemen. Bot I remit þis to your self and all vther particularities to Mr Archibald Douglas, quho, I hoype, shalbe schortly vithe you, send by his Maiestie in maiters of importance to the Queins Maiestie. The King lykis verie veil of him. If my Lord of Leicefter hes any forder to deall vithe him, yt shalbe veil dune he send it to your Honour, for he vil be at you vithin tuentie dayis, and hes to satisfie my Lord from his Soueraine verie amply. The grypt heaft shall mak me conclud in committing you to Godis holy protection: From Dumfermeling, þis last of Junij, 1586.

Your loving frend to be commaundit,

Mr of Gray

To the Ryght Honorable Sir Francis
Walsinghame, principal Secreatary
to the Queens Maiestie of England,
and one of the Counfall thair.

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM TO MR RANDOLPHE.¹

SIR, I haue movid her Maiestie to write her letteris to the King for the employment of the Master of Gray in the Lowe Countries. But she findeth his abode in that realme more necessarie, ffor that she hath of

¹ From the original Minute in Walsingham's hand, 22d July 1586, Cott. MSS. Calig. IX. fol. 277.

late receaved secrete aduertisementes out of France, that the French Ambaffadour there with you hath geuen great affurance vnto the Queen Mother of greate matters to be there wrought and brought to passe, by the Lord Claude and his partie. For the discouery of the bottome of which practife, she would haue you deale both with the Master of Gray and Mr Archibald Douglas, that they vse some extraordinary care therein, and yet would she haue the matter handled with all the secrecie that is possible. Thus much was I willed to write to you with speede, and therewith to send you her Maiesties letter to the King, for your revocation. I pray you let my haste of writinge excuse me to the Master of Gray and Mr Douglas in not writing to them. And so, Sir.

MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, before the receaving of yours bearing date pe xxijnd of this instant, I was minded to haue written unto you a discourse of the state of this country, from the doing whereof I did absteyne during the abode of my Lord Ambaffadour, specialie bycause I sawe his Honour inclined to deale only with the King, my soveraigne, as beeing both reasonable and that way instructed, whereof I did best like; albeit in veritie the present state of his realme, through diversitie of factions in religion, and profession in minde obedient to fundrie authorities, did otherwise require. In this matter I have been some parte curious of late, and have discovered divers matters to be misliked of. A parte of them I made your Honour acquainted with before, and therewithall shewed my opinion that the danger appeared not to be greate, unles some matter of force should come from foreine partes, that might alter the presente state. By that letter I declared from what ground the ill did proceede, and the remedies that did appeare most proper to reduce in the state of this coun-

¹ From a copy in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 193, fol. 279, where the date is given 30th July 1586.

trey to some more assured quietness. To this letter it was not your Honours pleasure to give any speciall answer. In respect whereof, and for discharge of my dutie and promise to her Maiestie, my Lord Treasurer, and to yourself, I haue accepted a charge from my Sovereigne, to be directed towards her Maiestie, with matters of no small importance. And that be all apparent might helpe these matters, being well vsed, at the best, my dutie in all respectes may appeare thereby to be discharged, I am not ignorant of the dealing that men are traveling into in this realme, but as yet I cannot perceave that they are like to take effecte, shortlie at the least. For this some states the force shall come from forrayne partes. And if the worst should fall out before October, I cannot finde a better remedie to helpe that matter, then that the Master of Gray should be making his forces and preparations readie towards the Lowe Countrey, while that season was passed. As for my owne parte, if I were not to farre gone forwards in this my intended iourney, taken on vppon mine owne charges, that I cannot goe back without declaracion of some misliking towards my Sovereigne, and that my staying might breede divers waies harme to the good effectes that my iourney appeared to produce, I could be contented to remayne at home, and thereby avoyde the envie of such as hath imployed their whole credite to procure my abidinge. But yet I cannot perceive, that in the end either the Master of Grayes, or my abidinge, or moe with us, can be able to stay the intended projectes, vnles matters be more deepelee founded, and the disease cured from the grounde, either by medicamentes lenitive or courosive. I must leave further of this matter to some other letter, or to my owne cominge. As towards this iourney intended by the said Master of Gray, I finde him therein so implacable since the receipt of this letter for staying thereof, that I can not tell what way to deale with him theranent. He alleadgeth that his charges bestowed for the advancement thereof is so excessive, that if his whole heritage were sold, the price would not pay his debtes. And that, besides that losse of goodes, he thinketh himself so farre interested in honour, by contramandements and desire to goe forward, that he cannot live in reputacion in this realme, but must needes departe from thence to forrayne countries. Hereof he would impute a parte of the

blame unto me. I knowe his neceffity of late was fo greate, that, when he was minded to fettle his abode at home, ix hundred lib Sterling, for the which I became bound, was not able to cover his neceffitie. What is to be done in this matter, I pray your Honour may be declared to Captayne Hackerfton his fervant, fent to know your Honours pleafure what fhall become of him, and who knowes what charges he hath been of late.

The particularities of thefe intended proiectes would be long to write, but this farre may appeare, that the generall tends to this end that Proteftant and Papift factions for King and Queene fhould all agree in one to drawe the King to their appetite; and, I will affure you, contrarie to his owned will or minde, as by this private dealing partlie may appeare. Our Secretarie hath fo dealt with the Carres, that were minded to enter into England, for fatisfaction of her Maiefties honour anent the murther of Sir Francis Ruffell, that, by interpoſed perfons, he hath made them to believe howe innocent foever they be, they wilbe ill uſed if they fhall enter in that realme. Such terrour they have receaved by his meanes that they are become fugitive and denounced rebelles. The King hath deſired of the Ambaffadour, that they fhall receave no favour in England, and hath promiſed that he fhall cauſe their houſes be poſſeſſed by others, and all other rigour and extremitie vſed againſt them. Albeit his meaning is herein very good, yet, in reſpect of thoſe proiectes, I muſt needes doubt of the performance. This matter is of noe ſmall weight. They are the chiefeſt men of that name, and the principall of that frontier. In reſpect whereof, I haue, ſince the departure of the Ambaffadour, obteyned commiſſion of the King to deale with them, and have fo farre travayled that, vpon my worde, they are contented to enter at Carlifle, wher I ſhalbe to convey them thither. I thinck it ſhalbe well done to write to my Lord Scroope for their ſafe receaving and keeping, till ſuch time as her Maieſties further pleaſure ſhalbe knowne herein. Yf it might be your Honours pleaſure, I would be glad to vnderſtand the intended determinacion againſt them; for forrie I would be, through deſire to doe good, to procure harme againſt myſelf or frendes. What hath beene my dealing therein Thomas Milles can declare.

In the end, I must conclude this informall letter in theis termes: If any matter shall fall out in this countrey that may be preiudiciall to that realme, the irrefolucion of that State cannot be without blame, that will not put remedie to matters when as they may be helped. And notwithstanding thereof, this farre your Honour may be affured of, that noe thing shall be left vndone here that may helpe matters in the best forme we can. Glad I would be to knowe yf this late intelligence hath any appearance to be dangerous in short time.

I can perceauue noe further by the Lord of Fyntrey then that which I wrote before. He is presentelie in this towne, in dealing for a mariage with Secretary Lethington his daughter.

I am affrayed that Mr Johne Colvill his covetousnes to be in credite shall be noe goode. Of one thing I must putt you in remembrance, that you are like to loose the Master of Glamis for lack of writing vnto him. I was ever of that opinion that it was necessary to keepe all men in good expectation. And so, &c.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING FRIEND, MR ARCHBALD DOUGLAS,
EMBASSADOR FROM THE KING'S MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND,
TOWARDS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.¹

SIR, Becaus I am shortly to send Roger with his Maiesties letters to you, I will not write at lenche. Ye do evil that taxis the Secretary with any maiter by letter to his Majestie: for sic dealing, of necessitie, must neidis have good men and veilvillars to comment on, or than evil villars makis evil constructions. His Majestie by Roger is to vryte to the Q. congratatorie, to my Lord Leicester, and Sir Francis, I beleive to the Thesaurer, so he has promissit to me. As for the first pairt, tutching the conspiracie, I cannot now vryte at lenche, bot differris it til I send Roger; yit this far I advertis you, that the King is veil villit in all thingis as ye left him, and verie glaid of the decoverie of this maiter. Bot his opinion

¹ From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 568.

is that it cannot stand with his honour, that he be a consentir to tak his Mother's lyf, bot he is content how strictly she be keipit, and all hir auld knaifish servantis heingit, cheifly thay who be in handis. For this you must deal verie varly to eschen [escheu] inconvenientis, seeing necessitie of all honest menis affairs requyris that she var out of the vay. I committis you to God.

Your affectionat Friend,

P. MASTER OF GRAY.

From Dumf. this 8th of
September 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSLINGHAM.¹

there verrie honest gentleman. Bot as by my last I must pray you, upon my obligation to be comptable to th'Erle of Leicefter and Estaitis, I may haue of her Maiestie 2000 or fyftein hunder pound,² and if any thing be superplus, it shall come to be pay-breif, it shall debat so mutche to me, and be holl troupes, if I giue a cleir compt. I am affurit no Almaine would haue listit four thousand foot men vithe ane hundrethe hors, for fyftie thousand crounes, and my nombre is litle les, and better grilnishing³ shalbe of no country. I pray you, Sir, yf you forder this and fend me vord with diligence, for if I fal sell my land, or my jowels, it vilbe thocht I am not vyse, and some litle discredit it shalbe to hir Maiestie; and, befor God, if it be not fend from thence, I must do it, for I vil giue liberally to gentlemen, and tym feruis not pat I can fend for it now to my Lord of Leicefter. I remit me than to you and hir Maiesties favor-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art 213, fol. 317. This article is imperfect, the first sheet of the original being wanting.

² '1586, August. A warrant for £2000 delivered to Master of Gray of Scotland, to levy certayn footmen in Scotland for the Lowe Countryes.'—*Murdin's State Papers*, p. 785.

³ Sic in manuscript.

able dealing towardis me; afchuir you it fhall neuer come in my handis. Sir, I haue vrittin to his Maiefties Ambaffadour of ane aduertifement I hard yifter nicht. I pray you inquire it of him, for it is not impertinent. The Eternall be vithe you for euer. From Dumfermling pis 9th of Sept. 1586.

Yours as his auin to be comandit,

J. M. of Gray.

Sir, for the bettir impreffion, I leaue laft to recommend vnto you pis bearer, to you veil knowin. It fhallbe verie vil dun, and I pray you pat ye favour him in his fute, for he may doe great good in my abfence; for affur you noe man gettis founer knowledge of thingis than he, and is not furer to aduertis. The King in lyke maner vil think veil of it pat he be veil vfit. I affur my felf than that ye vil do for him.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis
Walſinghame, principall Secretary to
the Quenes Maieftie of England.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, the Queenes Maieftie beeing made acquainted with the contents of your laft letteris of the xxxth of Auguſte, and ſecond of this preſent, directed vnto me, doth think her ſelf greatlie beholden vnto you, for the care you ſeeme to haue to further any thing that you may iudge to be for the benefite and aduancement of her ſeruice: which geuing her iuſt cauſe to haue like care of the ſafetie of that realme, and of your own good and

¹ This and the following article are from the original minutes in Walsingham's handwriting, dated 14th Sept. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 208, fol. 311, 312.

well doing in particular, she hath willed me to lett you understand, that she findeth it inconvenient you should send over into the Lowe Countries any greater number of soldiers than those that are alreadie transported: wherein her iudgement is grounded vpon theis two considerations; first, that some sturres or alteracions beeing likelie to happen in that realme, as may be coniectured by the claimes made by the Lord Maxwell, some parte of theis troopes, which in likelihoode doe consist of your friends, seruantes and dependantes, were fittest to be reteyned at home, for the better strength and defence of the realme and your owne safety; and next, bycause she vnderstandeth from my Lord of Leicester, that the States doe not keepe promise in the due answering of such contribucions as they haue offred, whereby her Maiestie doubteth that the greater number you carry, the worfe you shall be paid, which she should be verie forrie should so fall out.

Touching the Captens named in your letter that served at Bruges, for whose employment you desyre to knowe my opinion, though the gentlemen, in the yealding vp of the towne, were constreyned by reason and necessitie to doe as they did, yet, bycause the people of the countrey are by nature subiect to ieaousie and suspicion, and not easilie movid from any concept or apprehencion that they once take of thingis, in the discourse of their owne reason, I doubte me, therefore, it would rather doe harme than good, that you should haue them about you. I may nott also omitte to lett you vnderstand, as one very desirous that the protested, and now so well settled, amitie and frendshipp betweene our two Soveraignes should remayne and continue in those good termes that it standeth at this present, for their owne honor, safetie, and the weale of their subiectes, which maketh me the more careful to foresee and prevent such inconveniences as may breede any hinderance and interupcion of the same, that there are diuers brutes geuen out, aswell in France as here in England, of an intended matche betweene the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamiltons daughter; which sound as though the ill affected, both here and in Scotland, did conceave some hope that the said match would bring forth some effectes, whereof might ensue a newe alteracion in that state, and also a breach of that straight amitie betweene their Maiesties. So, as

I feare, left the opinion of such an alteracion to followe by meanes of the said matche, may minifter matter and occaſſion of ſuch miſlike as was here conceavid of the alteracion in St Andrewes; and therevppon I haue thought fitt to forewarne you thereof, to th'end that you may for your parte perfwade the King, your ſoueraigne, not to giue his conſent to the going forward of the ſaid matche, vntill he hath made her Maieſtie acquainted with all, according to his owne promiſe made vnto her, that he would depend vppon her aduiſe and counsell in matters of great importance, of which kinde this ſeemeth to be one.¹ And ſo, Sir. Windſore.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR, I thank you for founding the Kings diſpoſition, howe he could be content to haue the Queen his mother proceeded againſt for the late facte. But I ſuppoſe it will be in vayne to move him any further in it, bycauſe he may conceave it would be againſte *bonos mores*, in reſpect of the bond of nature betweene them, that he ſhould make him ſelf a partie againſte her; neuertheleſs you may with good reaſon perfwade him, that he make no mediacion for her, or oppoſe him ſelf againſt the courſe that is intended to be heald with her, conſidering the hard meaſure that his Father receaved at her handes; for which deteſtable facte ſhe was deprived of her crowne. It is meant that ſhe ſhall be tried here according to the acte made in the laſt Parliament, and that, agreeable to the contents of the ſaid acte, certain Noble men ſhalbe appointed to chardge her, who aſſemble for that purpoſe the xxvjth of this moneth, and ſhalbe with her by the fourth of the next at Fodringay Caſtle in Northampton ſhire, ſeaven miles from Stamford, whether ſhe is appointed to be brought. But the matters whereof ſhe is guiltie are alreadie ſo playne and manifeſt, (beeing alſo confeſſed by her twoo Secretaries), as it is thought, they ſhall

¹ See Courcelles' *Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 5. Edin. 1828. 4to. Printed for the Bannatyne Club.

require noe long debating. We suppose she will appeale and challenge the priviledge of her soveraigntie, which, in this case, neither by the Civile lawes, nor by the lawes of this realme, can be avayleable.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE AND LOVING FRIEND,
MY LORD EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND
TOWARDIS THE QUENE OF ENGLAND.¹

MY LORD, I refaveit your letter this 28th, daitit the 21. His Majestie is verie veil content with all your proceidings, bot cheifly tutching his boukis and hunting horses.² I pray you negotiat so veil that ye fael not to effectuallly that point. As for his Mother, his command is you do as he gave your nephew Richard instruction. I can affhur you he is content the law go fordvert, her life being fave, and would glaidly vische that all foraine Princefs should know how evil she had unfit hirself towardis the Q. Majestie thair, and that she refaveis favour through her clemencie. I commit your L. to God

Your L. as is awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Falkland this 29th of
September 1586.

¹ From MURDIN's State Papers, p. 569.

² Queen Elizabeth seems, as a matter of policy, to have humoured King James in his favourite pastime of hunting, by sending him horses, huntsmen, &c. Randolphe thus writes (5th August 1586) to Mr Archibald Douglas:—'I have sent the Kynge two hunting men, verie good and skillful, with one footman, that can hoop, hollow and crye, that all the trees in Fawkland will quake for fear. Pray the Kynge's Majestie to be mercifull to the poor bucks; but let him spare and look well to himself.'—*Murdis*, p. 558.

SIR HENRY WODDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAME.¹

THE vjth of this instant there came to this towne 140 foldiers, that were shipt by the Master of Gray forthe of Scotland into Flanders, who were taken vpon the coast of Flanders by those of Dunkirke, all spoiled, the capitaine and lieutenant carried away, and certaine of them flaine to the nombre of 20, who cutt downe theire maine mast, boughestd² there shippe with greate ordnance, and tooke away their pomp, and left them without ether faile or anker on the maine sea; who landed about Bambroughe, and coming hether, hauing nothinge left them, I defrayed their chargis here, and gaue them some money to carry them home. Berwick.

TO MR SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.³

MY GOOD LORD. To the effect your Lordship may know my meanes and intention, not onely to serue for making your Lordship acquaynted and pre-
 fence of soch forayne courses and plottes, as may be eyther prejudiciall to the King my masters advancement, or yet to the standing and continuance of her Maiesties most noble estate of England, I thought expedient to make your Lordship advertised by this present, pat immediately after my Lordes return to Scotland, I was pressed to travell with the Master of Gray, Sir James Steward, sometime Erle of Arane, (who continues still in the Kinges favor and good grace), pat matters being taken upp betwene them, and a fure contract and band of perpetuall frendshipp subscribed by them both, he might frelye resort to his Masters prefence, and

¹ From a copy dated 7 Nov. 1586, in Cott. MSS. Calig. C. IX. art. 240, fol. 440.

² Sic in manuscript.

³ HARLEIAN MSS. No. 290, fol. 170. This letter has no date, but it evidently refers to matters prior to Nov. 1586; and appears to have been written from Scotland by some secret favorer of England. In some places the manuscript is illegible.

so that by his perswasion the Kinge might bothe more easlye be moved to embrace the French course, and present armes against England, unlesse pat he have his Mother sett at lybertye. For, suppose the Quenes Maiestie of England wold, at the Kinges desire, forgiue this his Mothers offence, it will nowght be sufficient at this time, onlesse she will putt her at libertye; for we suppose pat ye dare not effectuate any thing agaynst our Quenes life, in respect of these accidents pat are fallen owt, so farre by your expectation, in the Low Contryes; so pat ye are only purposed to kepe her, and to dispoone your selves to peace and quietnesse with Spayne and France by her redeliverye, when ye shalbe putt to it. And soch was the discourse of our Embassadors to the King our master. There is no small jelowsye betwene the Secretarye and the Master of Gray; for the one preffeth to have regresse to his former creditt to his owne person, so pat the departure of the Embassador into France is delayed till the incomming of the English Embassadour. Emulation makes the Master the more willing to deale with James Steward, by whose meanes the other may be debased; which, if it take effect, will be the only meanes to draw the Kinges maiefty from England, and therefore I thought good to hold the Master of taking any fodayne resolution in this matter, till your Lordships advertisement, and shall hinder or further the same as your wisdom shall thinke nedefull. I have not yet had leasure to communicate with the Jesuites, but I am advertised that they are to offer any what somme of monye to his Maiefty by suspect person, to pusch him forward in the suing for his Mothers libertye. Alwayes within few dayes I shall make your Lordship prefence of weyghtier maiters, as they shall fall forth.

There is a great contention betwixt the King and the Ministrye for praying for his Maiesties Mother; but now they are content to pray for her conditionallye. It may be your Lordship receave a packett of Monsieur Courcelles letters at the French embassador Chauneuf. I have delt so with them bothe as to be able by my moyen, to make theyr secret letters to . . . to your Lordship ha I desire, (as yow wold wishe matters to continue,) that yow governe this matter with all kinde

of crafte and secrecie, for so may it redound to your Lordships creditt, and advancement of the cawse. I spake with Mr Archibald, towching these poynts, at length in this turne before my awaycoming, with whome it may please your Lordship to advise. As towching my selfe, your Lordship shall finde no lacke of constancie and secrett dealing on my parte. I will loke for the like in your Lordship, and soch other frendshipp as I have hard your Lordship to be most liberall of to them to whome your Lordship beares good will unto, and no otherwise then I shall deferue at your Lordships handes.

The Master of Gray is to fend George Gray, his page, shortlye into France; alwayes at the next advertisement I shall make your Lordship advertised in particular of that he ganges for, with soch other thinges as shalbe more to your contentement. So abiding your advertisement, etc.

To Mr Secretary Walsingham.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREND MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, AMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.¹

MY LORD, This bearer is directit, according as ye and he defyrit, in the best *Subt.* that for the present occurrit, as ye shall understand by himself. I had vrottin by him a long letter at his Majesties command, but I am contremandit til we heir from you. Yet I shall fommerly set something doun, but keip it from all men. This letter would only have been vrottin by me, and directit to your Lordships self, bot to the end ye should divulgat it through that Court. Becaus the King beginneth to think that he hes done more for the Queene thair, and that country, than he hes re-

¹ From MURDIN's State Papers, p. 571, where it is printed from the original.

lavit any great appearance of good meining, he villit you and me to made [make] it manifest, that through the apparent subject that men had heir, cheifly sic as are about him evil affectid, to speik, he should at lenthe be moveit to run some other course: In few wordis, this ves all the somme of the long letter. And by God, I am of the opinion, if franker meining and dealing both be not usit towardis him, he shall do this in effect: Bot till ye shall reseve advertisement ye shall reveil this to no man. I find his Majestie in conscience as yit ryt fast, and he vill be lothe to tak evil impressiions; bot ye know quhat tyme doeth vork in all kind of subjects, and cheifly in the myndis of Princes. I would not vryt this plainly in my last, because it ves sent only by paquet without a sure berar. All men drives at him, first for his Mother, nixt for the maiter of his Title; for they think be the first to move him, for the dishonour it ville be to him; nixt for his title, becaus be that they think his Majestie shall see vither thay mein evil or veil towardis him: Bot of this ye shall know forder by my nixt. You shall see that the Guisfarchis and his Mothers friendis shall tak occasion upon theis motives to deal, both directly and indirectly, vithe his Majestie. And for my pairt, I have takin this resolution to serve his Majestie faithfully and first: And if I see England to mein veil, I asshur [you] I shall remaine constant that vay; if not, I mynd to follow no course partially, bot to het and love according to my Masters mynd. This, in few vordis, is my resolution. As for my negotiation in his title to that Crown, asshur you I mynd never to crave it, or any dealing in it; bot if I cannot escheu, I vill do quhat ever my Maister commandis me, without respect. My Lord Leicester has sent at dyverse tymes a offre of the proprieté of the Low Countryis to the Kingis Majestie, and now of late, and craves ane answer. It is a thing, if the King micht have it by the Queenis advise thair, not to be refusit; bot except he obtain hir good vill, and not only hir good vill, bot she prays him to tak it, that he vil not accept it. The King longis greitly to heir from you, cheifly tuitching his Mother; thairfor spair not the first occasion, I pray you. Let me feil frankly, without any kynd of scruple, quhat your opinion is anent his fute for his Title; for that is the maiter appeirently that ether shall do men great good or extreim evil; because now the King beginneth to apprehend that maiter verie

fare. This is all I can vryte to you for the present in matters of Estait.
I commit your Lordship to God.

Your Lordships as his awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From the Holyrudhoufe,
this 10th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS LOVING AND HONOURABLE FRIEND,
MR ARCH. DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE
OF SCOTLAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.¹

SIR, I refaveit your letter, and am sorry to perfave thingis fall furthe as thay do. All the evil affectit to the good quyettnefs betweene the realmes studiis now to tak occasion to divert his Majestie, and not only to divert him, but to animat him, as you may perfave by this earnest dealing; and I pray you, befor I enter into any forder discours, that ye be a verie great dealer for hir, for no uther vay is there to content the King. He apprehends the maiter so vehemently, and has commandit me to vryte to you, that ye deal directly in that maiter, for he says he vil not diffimull in it himself. Now to let you know quhat order his Majestie has takin upon sicht of your last letters and Villam Keythis, first, he has vrottin to you vithe his awin hand a few lynes, as ye shall refave, the rest he has remittit to me. Becaus that he sent Villam Keythe away in a hafte, and that both his opinion and yours was, that some nobleman should be fend thair, his Majestie is fully resolvit to fend a Nobleman and two of his Counsell. As yet skairfly can he resolve whom to fend, but he has dealt with the Earle Bothwell, and vith myself verie urgently. The Earle, if moyen be found, vil accept it. For my self, I have as yet refusid; bot becaus the

¹ From MURDIN's *State Papers*, p. 573, where it is printed from the original.

King tuk it evil, I have takin me til advyfe; so having advyfit, I have laid the good and evil of both the pairtis so far as I can, and judge ye of them. Refuse I, the King shall think I know already quhat shall come of thingis; so that if she die, he shall not feal to quarrell me for it. Leive she, I shall haue double harme. Refuse I not, but interpryse the voyage, if she die, men shall think I have lent her a hand, so that I shall leive under that slander; and leive she be my travail, I bring a staff to my awin head, or at the least shall have little thanks. Yit if I cannot escheu, rather or I sustein the Kings vrathe, I mynd to accept the commiffion; and if she die, the uther two shall bear vitnefs I have done my deutie. Seeing this maiter comeis one this—I would fain the Queen and hir Counsell would devyfe some middis, for, by God, the maiter is hard to you and me bothe. For as I vrot to you by my last, the King thinks ye nicht have done more in that maiter. So far to content him, first, vryt your ample purgation; nixt deal freely, come of it quhat so may, and I hope it shall turn to your veil. I have vrottin heir a letter to the Queens Majestie, quhereof I fend a copie. To be plain with you, it was the Kings mynd I should do so, to the end she should not tak my coming in evil pairt, in case I come. And I protest before God, I undertak that voyage for to see what good I can do, to mak some middis, becaus I see the King wholly myndit to run a uther course, if violence be usit, which I know shall be my vrak, being so far imbarkit that vay that skairfly can I retire myself. And for your self, it is true, ye have thair moyens, bot keip your compt, if his Majestie steir a uther course, you shall die a banifit man. Ye know how mortell all Princes are, so it is good to remember of home; and this is my ground I keip, for that I see men, and chiefly your enemies and myn both, to be bisie at this occasion to divert his Majestie from his present course, knowing thairby to herme us both. I mynd to interpryse the voyage rather than to refuse, to the end I may see if some good middis may be takin for the Queens suretie of that realme, and all honest manis, and for the contentment of this Prince our Sovereigne. In this mid tyme, I pray you, feeing you may see it to be veil for your self, that before my coming, you deal quickly in it, and dally not. I vill be thus plainly with you: see I no middis, bot that all shall brak

between this Princes, I vil feik the longest lyf, and follow my Master directly and sincerely. Bot first, or I cast myself in that hazard, I will exhonor myself of my deutie in effeying if some good moyen may be found to the contentment of the Princes, to the veil of both realmes, and for intertaining the maiter now professit, which in my opinion shall be dresfit by a capitulation, and to the Queen of Englands contentment. I pray you do quhat you can to mak maiters abyde our coming. I have bein heir verie plaine, and plainer than reason vould, in respect of the vay I fend them. As for any bruitis or reportis maid of you unto me, ye shall know them all at meiting; and if I meit not with you, the Laird of Restabris [Restalrig?] shall be at you, who shall shau you them. In the mid tyme, tak no opinion or apprehensions, for asshur you ye shall do me great wrong befor I trust it, and my eife and understanding shall be my informers. If I vould have left you, I had better occasion than now, and has for your cause sufficient over many manis evil villis, vithout reason, to trust. Bot all this to meiting, or Restabrisse coming to you. I pray you oneis agene, feeling so far this maiter is lyk to tutche me, if the King change course, that ye deal for some good middis before I come, and vith the first commoditie feal not to fend me your opinion, for ye have myn freely, as God is my vitnefs. I pray you, as I vrot of before, to gaine that young man Villam Keythe, for he may do good, and I persauue he vrytis reasonably veil of you, at the least to me, and to the King himself; yit the King hes a vehement fuspition, which fatiffie, I pray you, in your next. Ye shall find great comfort at my coming, or yit at Restabrisse coming. Deal, I pray you, both by yourself, and affist Villam Keythe, for a continuation of any execution agenst the Kingis Mother. I think it not impertinent ye deal freely in this maiter with the Queen and Mr Secretary, and also with my Lord Thesaurer, and let them know the verie simple veritie, for in my judgment thay love to be in friendship vith the King. I commit you to God.

Yours as your awin,

MASTER OF GRAY.

This 27th of November, 1586.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO THOMAS TYRIE.¹

THOMAS TYRIE, I receavit your letter, bot, for by it I understand ye are not now in England, I forbear to make any anfwere till it; only I fend youe theise few lynes to let youe know quhat refolucion þe King hes taken anent þe Queen his Mother, uppon fyght of William Keythis letteris, which he hes don in great suddenty. Respecting þe weightines of þe cause, he hathe only at this tyme written to William Keyth, to see if he can protract tyme for a short space, to the end some honorable Ambassade be sent to þe Queen of England, for þe effect aforesaid. To þe which Ambassade, he preassed my self, but, at the furst, I refused, which his Majesty took in no good part, so þat now I have condescended, alwayes condicionally, þat tuo of the Queenis especiall frends accompany me. For I was ever in feare, if her lyfe had been tane, þat men should have thought me an especiall occasion of it, and that made me chuse the Earle Bothwell and Sir William [Robert] Melvill, who favors her. And I protest, before God and þe World both, they shall see me do my duty honestly.² If the Earle Bothwell be as ready as Sir William [Robert] and I, we shall be gon within eight daies. Therefore faile not, but ye meet me at London so soon as is possible to youe, and bring with youe any thing þat youe know propre for me, so farre as your money extendis; but all black, as feathers, hatt, and filk shanks, &c.

¹ From a copy, HARLEIAN MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 290, fol. 169. There is no date to this letter, but it must have been written towards the end of Nov. 1586.

² Bothwell was, however, excluded from the embassy, "by the drifte, it was thought, of the Master of Grayes and Archebalde Douglase knowinge the said Earle to be prompt and free of speech, and affectionate to the Queene of Scottis, and such a one as would not, yf he discovered any of the trecheries, which moste suspected by him, conceale it."—*Courcelles' Negotiations in Scotland*, p. 22.

INSTRUCTIONS BY KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY AND SIR
ROBERT MELVILL, AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND.¹

INSTRUCTIONS to our truſtie Couſin and Counſellour, Patrick Maifter of Gray, Comendatour of Dumfermling, and Sir Robert Meluill of Murdocarnie, Knight, our Treauſurer deputye, our Ambaſſadors directed by us, with adviſe of our Eſtate, to our deareſt ſiſter and couſin the Queene of England. From Holyrudhouſe, the xvijth December, 1586.

HEE ſhall in our name ſignifie to our deareſt ſiſter, the Queene of England, that we mervell not a little of the late propoſterous and ſtrange proceedings againſt the Queen, our deareſt Mother, who, being a Souveraigne princes, and in all degrees of the beſt blood in Europe, heſeene by ſubjects judged, ay in life and tytle;—a dangerouſe preſident for all princes, and without any approved example in any age or kingdome, and ſo contrarious to our honor, and hardly could any thing have fallen out ſo prejudicial thereunto.

Wee doubt not but our ſayd deareſt ſiſter hath beene ſufficiently advertiſed, how the reſtraint of our deareſt Mother hath beene uncomlie interpreted, ſhe being the prince in the world who was neere unto her, both in blood and vicinitie, haveing reſoſed her cheife worldly apperance in her amity, often confirmed by many freindly promiſes, and, by her adviſe and perſwading, dimitted the government of this realme; and, in her greateſt extremity, had her refuge unto her, *tanquam ad ſacram anchoram*, looking for nothing leſſe then captivity or imprifonment; but that, *jura ſanguinis, gentium, et hoſpitii, quæ ſemper ſacroſancta ſunt habita*, ſould have availed alſmekill at her hands, as could have beene expected of a generous and pitifull prince, nere couſin, and kindly affured freind. And thoughe her reſtraint was by the moſt part thouchte ſtrange, yet it

¹ HARLEIAN MSS. No. 1579, fol. 75.

would have beene conftrued by many to the better parte, if this more strange proceeding had not enfued.

Hee fhall defire our faid deareft fifter to confider advifedly, how all men may conceive of fo uncouth and rare a forme, fo repougnant to the immediate fupremacie graunted by God to foveraigne princes; whose holy ordinance will not admit the fared diademe to bee profained, nor his hier power in any his anointed bee fubject to inferiors, nor thaire lawes, crownes, nor kingdomes, to be judged or difpofed uppon, at the appetite of fubjects; and that procedure may be thouchte mair strange, that be na lawe, fpetiallye within this Ile, verry fubjects felfs may be judged otherwife, but by the moft parte theire peeris, and of equall rank and eftate.

Hee fhall alfoe declare unto our faid deareft fifter, that haveing made fppeciall choyce of her amitie, and in affections preferred her till all others, and with the loffe of our neareft and well affected freindis, continued in all fenceritye towards her, omitting noe parte of a well devoted freind and brother, wee did alwayes expect, and by good desert have merited, the like correspondency and kindneffe on her parte, whereby fhee might have beene moved to a freindly confideracioun, how far fuch proceedings might concerne us, as well in honour as otherwayes, and to have abfteyned from all things importing our difhonour or prejudice.

Hee fhall defire our deareft fifter to confider, what conffruccion has beene made of this pretendit partes, and what privitie this fame may bee thought of our foe fecret amitye foe lately contracted, noe parte of the faid pretended protection haveing at any tyme beene imparted unto noe other, by letter or meffaige, but they have detected, without our knowledge or privitie, notwithstanding the fppeciall intereft we had therein, fo well knowne to herfelfe, and the fincere obfervacions of our foe ftrait freindship could not permitt nothinge to be over feene or neglected, in a matter of fo greate weight; and if the fame had been tymely fignified unto us, wee fhould have foe fatisfyed her in honour and fecretie for them both, that fhee fhould not have needed to have recourfe to any foe dangerous remedie, and hard effects, as are likely to fall out.

Hee fhall expound to our deareft fifter, what juft greife wee haue had of the rigor intended againft our deareft Mother, and that no

thinge in the world is more dear unto us then herselfe and life, by whom wee received life; what duty wee owe unto her, both by the inuiolable law of God, and streaitest bond of nature betweene us; and wee would rather yeeld our owne life then offend in a pointe soe carefully recommended by God, and soe highly touching us in honour; hartily desiring her to enter into deep consideracion, what becometh us of duety and nature, and what shee herselfe would do being in our place. Hee shall therefore most earnestly deale with her, and in our behalfe intercede with all instance, that our said dearest Mothers life, alwayes soe deare unto us, may bee spared, that wee may thereby have occasion the better to continue in our present deuotions towards our said dearest sister, and reape this fruite of our desires and expectations. Remonstrating therewithal what a blemish it would be to her reputacion to deuoid so far from her accustomed clemency, and naturally mildnesse of her sexe, as imbrew herselfe into her owne blood, by taking the life of her nearest cousin, beinge alsoe of the like calling and sexe to herselfe; besides the iust discontentment of many great Princes, who may bee moved thereby, and diuers other inconveniencies, that such rigor may breed, which will not impart that security to her owne person and estate that some would perswade her may bee confirmed by extremitie.

If it shalbe objected unto you, that the preservacion of our dearest Motheris life carries with it any apparent danger to our dearest sister the Queen of England—for albeit, our said dearest Mother may be kept under restraint, and perhaps stayed from practising moyen and intelligence, yet that wilbe but gayning tyme unto her, and nather her own esperance, nor the hope of her partisans, thereby removed, who, for preferment, revenge, or pretended religion, ar about to conspire against our sayd dearest sister, but wilbee still lying in waite, attending opportunity and occasions to attein unto their designes—you may answer, her dealing and allegeit attempts (giff ony have beene) seemis to have proceeded of a dispaire our said dearest Mother had conceived, by long and streight imprisonment, and a womanly feare, deeply apprehending danger of her life; and, (as all captives naturally reclaiming liberty, has solistited for liberty), soe as shee might move, and hes beene recommended by some of a contrary opi-

nion and disposicion of our said dearest sifter, to shunne her perill, and seek her de ivery: The most fitt and sure expedient for the indempnitie of our said dearest sifter and estett of this realme, shalbe by putting her¹ to libertie, out of the realme of England, upon security and joynt obligations of the Princes of her kin, freindshippe and alyance, that nothing shalbee directly or indirectly attempted by her, or any of her adherents or favorites, against our dearest sifter or her estate; foe shall both will and power to annoy be removed, and the cause ceasing, foe shall the effect.

If it shalbee objected, that the sparing of our dearest Motheris life shall breed perill to the true Christian religion and professors thereof, ye may answer, It must needs produce the very contrary effect, and cheifely within this Ile: For that such as indeede meene the subvercion of the true religion, would ayde themselves in their enterprises, by practising quarrell for her restraint and danger, and for her respect, like to bee assisted by her favorites within this Ile, quhilk they account their most important forte, if our dearest Mothers death might bee procured in any forte. So by her preservation and liberty, their quarrell and cheife injury shalbee removed, and, consequentlye, more security of religion and quiet to the whole Ile insfew; and bee the contrary, by her death, a more just quarrell may bee thereby pretended, and they and their adherents and favorites more eagerly incenced to a more cruell desire of revenge, wherein they would assure themselves of our ayde and concurrence, who haue the cheife interest and shame by her death.

If it bee objected, that the preservation of our dearest Motheris life, after the pretended condemnacion, will either argue the indignitie of the sentence, or a feare in our dearest sifter, whereby she is moved to absteyne from putting the same to further execution, ye may answer, It will breed fayme, prais, and imortal glory to our said dearest sifteris name, for her prudency, mildenes, and naturall clemency, proceeding onely of her owne accorde, beside and against the advise and deliberacion of them who, seeking her blood to settle her estate, gives occasion of greater unquietnes thereunto, and will breed to her a number of enemys, and common misreporte. And if our dearest Motheris life bee taken, it will plainly

appeare to proceede of feare and passions, and bee demed of all men *potius vindicta quam iustitia*.

If the danger of the affociates bee opponit, ye may answer, *functi sunt officio*. And thouche our sayd dearest Mother, being alway alive, may be thouchte formidable unto them, shee shalbee altogether gained by the clemency of our said dearest sifter, what with so great praise as shee shall acquire thereby, and suertie of her persone, wee will assure they will prefer to their particulare dreid our oune future event, spetially by occasion of her, who, by nature, cannot have long continuance.

If it bee objected, that by her death factions, and such as carrye bouldned hartes, shall lacke one head on whom to depende, ye may answer, Her deathe, by likelyhood, will rather increafe then terrifie, and rather stirr upp then quenche factions, and move and inflame then settle and mittigate boldned hartes. And if force or factions doe remaine, it wilbee easie for them to finde a conductor, more to bee doubted, then an afflicted woman, of unsound health and weak and diseased body, who, uppon present security and sure capitulations, being out of the realme of England, is no wayes to be feared, and appearantly will haue no desire, nor possiblie no power to anoye.

He shall also informe our dearest sifter, *quæ sunt nobis undique angustiae, et quam ancipiti distrahimur*, our naturall deutie and honour preffing us on the one parte, and the care we have of our said dearest sifter, to whom wee are entirely devoted, on the t'other, and above all, our zeale to trew religion, whereupon both our states are settled; all-foe our said dearest sifteris persone and estate, by all likelyhood, may be put in full security, by joynt and generall bands, obligacions, and pledges of such Princes as will interpone their faith and security with our dearest Mother, that shee beeing delivered to any who wilbee alwayes answerable, upon his faith and perill of the hostages, that she shall, neither directly nor indirectly, deale, practife, nor attempte against our said dearest sifteris person and estate. Soe, although shee would violatt her faith, and forfeit the benefites of her liberty and life, yet wee cannot suspect shee will, beeing deprived of all force and money, and

lacking the assistance and good will of those from whom shee expected the greatest ayde, and all best affected unto her, shee shalbee able to doe no harme of herself, and shall incur the wrath of all such as has been kinde, and given their faith and estates for her; and unquestionably our dearest susteris person shalbe in security, and her realme free from practises and attemptacions, and all the dangerous designs prevented, of such as effect the change of religion within this Ile.

If none of all these perfwading argumentis be thought sufficient, ye shall, with all instance, presse our dearest suster to set downe, by advise of her wisest and best affected Councillours, such forme of security as shee and they shall thinke sufficient, or possible, or conveniently may be advised, whereunto wee will not onely yeeld for our selfe, but also to our best endeavour to obtaine the performance thereof of all others, with whom shee will capitulate in this behalfe; protesting before God, the life of our dearest suster is no less deare unto us, in all respects, then the life of our dearest Mother, or our owne.

THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HIS HONOURABLE FREIND, MR ARCH.
DOUGLAS, EMBASSADOR FOR THE KINGS MAJESTIE OF SCOT-
LAND, TOWARDIS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.¹

SIR, I mett a pacquet of yours yesterday at four in the morning at Vederbie, containing an answer of that I fend by Restabris, [Restalrig?] bot all I remit to meiting. For my awin pairt, I assure you, I am as you left me. Marie, to one pairt of your letter, I must answer, quhere ye say that I use threatning, if the Queen of Scotlands lyf was taken, that ye would dea a banifit man; by my treuthe, I use it as no threatning, but advertised you quhat the King sayd; and in that same letter I vrot to you quhat ves spoken of my self, so that if it ves a threatning, I threatnit my self in lyk manner. Now, Sir, I am come heir at his Majesties command, I

¹ From MURDIN'S State Papers, p. 575.

fweir unto you, agenst my vil, durst I have sayd nay. For that I am to abyde Sir Robert Melvin, who is to be at me vithin two days, for I left him at Morpeth, I mynd to stay at Vare. So that I think meitest ye and Villiam Keythe effey quhat hir Majestie thinks of it, and thereafter fend me vord, if I meit not with you, quhat is her mynd; for I have no command to speik vith any til he be vith me, nether vil I do it, for sic reasons as ye shall know at meiting. Bot I let you know, and ye may affhur all thair, that our commiffion is verie honourable and modest. For my awin particular, I have vrottin to Mr Sec. Valsingham ane offre, bot becaus my tyme permittis not, I pray you to see the letter fend to him. In the mid tyme speik hardely to the Queen, that I think she has not ufit me according to hir promis, feeing this is the second time she has suspected me vithout cause. Quhair she sayis, she knowis more of me nor ye do; by God, I say this fare, if she euer knew me do vrong, it ves for that I enterid forder for hir service than good reason permittit. Bot all this to meiting, and committis you to God.

Your loving freind,

MASTER OF GRAY.

From Stamford this 25th of
December, 1586.

God villing, I shall be at Vare the morrow be noon. His Majestie vrot efter me to advertise you and Villie Keythe to crave audience, quhen ye hard of Sir Robertis coming and myn, and if neid cravis it, that I should crave prefence vithout Sir Robert; bot that I vill not do vithout a verie extreim necessitie. So I pray you to let me know of all maiteres.

A MEMORIAL FOR HIS MAJESTY BY THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

It will please your Majesty, I have tho't meeter to fet down all things

¹ This and the following three articles are taken from the Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland. Dr Robertson printed them from the original MSS., at that time in the collection of the late Sir Alexander Dick, and now in the possession of Sir George

as they occur, and all advertisements as they came to my ears, then jointly in a lettre.

I came to Vare the 24th of Dec. and sent to William Keith and Mr Archibald Douglas to advertise the Queen of it, like as they did at their audience. She promised the Queen your Majesty's mother's life should be spared till we were heard. The 27th, they came to Vare to me, the which day Sir Robert came to Vare, where they shewed us how far they had already gone in their negociation; but, for that the discourse of it is set down in our general letter, I remit me to it, only this far I will testify unto your Majesty, that William Keith hath used himself right honestly and wisely till our coming, respecting all circumstances, and chiefly his colleague his dealing, which indeed is not better than your Majesty knows already.

The 29th of Decr. we came to London, where we were no ways friendly received, nor after the honest sort it has pleased your Majesty use her ambassadors; never man sent to welcome or convey us. The same day we understood of Mr de Bellievre his leave taking; and for that the custom permitted not, we sent our excuses by Mr George Young.

The 1st day of January, William Keith and his colleague, according to the custom, sent to crave our audience. We received the answer contained in the general letter, and could not have answer till the 6th day. What was done that day your Majesty has it in the general, yet we was not out of esperance at that time, albeit we received hard answers.

The 8th day we speak with the Earl of Leicester, where our conference was, as is set down in the general. I remarked this, that he that day said plainly, the detaining of the Queen of Scotland prisoner was for that she pretended a succession to this crown. Judge then by this what is tho't of your Majesty, as ye shall hear a little after.

The 9th day we speak with the French ambassador, whom we find very plain in making to us a wise discourse of all his proceedings; and

Warrender of Lochend, Bart. It is evident that Dr Robertson has modernised the language, which made it desirable to collate them with the originals. Application was therefore made to Sir George Warrender; but it appears that the manuscripts have been unfortunately mislaid.

Mr de Bellievre we thanked him in your Majesty's name, and opened such things as we had to treat with this Queen, save the last point, as more largely set down by our general.

It is tho't here, and some friends of your Majesty's advised me, that Bellievre his negotiation was not effectual, and that the resident was not privy to it, as indeed I think is true; for since Bellievre his departing, there is a talk of this Chasteauneuf his servants taken with his whole papers and packets, which he was sending in France, for that they charge him with a conspiracy of late against the Queen here her life. It is alledged his servant has confessed the matter, but whom I shall trust I know not, but till I see proof I shall account him an honest man, for indeed so he appears, and one (without doubt) who hath been very instant in this matter. I shew him that the Queen and Earl of Leicefter had desired to speak with me in private, and craved his opinion; he gave it freely that he tho't it meetest: I shew him the reason why I communicate that to him, for that I had been suspected by some of her Majesty's friends in France to have done evil offices in her service, that he should be my witness that my earnest dealing in this should be a sufficient testimony that all was lyes, and that this knave Naue, who now had betrayed her, had in that done evil offices. He desired me, seeing she saw only with other folks eyes, that I should no ways impute it to her, for the like she had done to himself by Naue his persuasion. I answered he should be my witness in that.

The 9th day we sent to court to crave audience, which we got the 10th day. At the first, she said, a thing long looked for should be welcome when it comes; I would now see your Master's offers. I answered, no man makes offers but for some cause; we would, and like your Majesty, first know the cause to be extant for which we offer, and likewise that it be extant till your Majesty has heard us. I think it be extant yet, but I will not promise for an hour, but you think to shift in that sort. I answered, we mind not to shift, but to offer from our Sovereign all things that with reason may be; and in special, we offered as is set down in our general: all was refused and tho't nothing. She called on the three that were in the house, the Earl of Leicefter, my Lord Admiral, and Chamberlain,

and very despitefully repeated all our offers in prefence of them all. I opened the last part, and said, Madam, for what respect is it that men deal against your person or estate for her cause? She answered, because they think she shall succeed to me, and for that she is a papist. Appearingly, said I, both the causes may be removed. She said she would be glad to understand it. If, Madam, said I, all that she has of right of succession were in the King our sovereign's person, were not all hope of papists removed? She answered, I hope so. Then, Madam, I think the Queen, his mother, shall willingly demit all her rights in his person. She answered, She hath no right, for she is declared unhail. Then, I said, if she have no right, appearingly the hope ceases already, so that it is not to be feared that any man attempt for her. The Queen answered, But the papists allow not our declaration. Then let it fall, says I, in the King's person by her assignation. The Earl of Leicester answered, She is a prisoner, how can she demit? I answered, The demission is to her son, by the advice of all the friends she has in Europe; and in case, as God forbid, that any attempt cuttis the Queen here away, who shall party with her to prove the demission or assignation to be ineffectual, her Son being opposite party and having all the princes her friends for him, having bonded for the efficacy of it with his Majesty of before. The Queen made as she could not comprehend my meaning, and Sir Robert opened the matter again; she yet made as though she understood not. So the Earl of Leicester answered, that our meaning was, that the King should be put in his Mother's place. Is it so, the Queen answered, then I put myself in a worse case than of before: By God's passion, that were to cut my own throat; and, for a dutchy or an earldom to yourself, you or such as you would cause some of your desperate knaves kill me: No, by God, he shall never be in that place. I answered, He craves nothing of your Majesty, but only of his Mother. The Earl of Leicester answered, that were to make him party to the Queen my mistress. I said, he will be far more party, if he be in her place through her death. She would stay no longer, but said she would not have a worse in his Mother's place; and said, Tell your King what good I have done for him in holding the Crown on his head since he was born, and that I mind to keep the league that now stands between us, and if he break it shall be a double fault: and with this

mind to have bidden us a farewell; but we achieved.¹ And I speak craving of her that her life may be spared for 15 days; she refused. Sir Robert craved for only eight days; she said not for an hour; and so geid her away. Your Majesty sees we have delivered all we had for offers, but all is for nothing, for she and her Council has laid a determination that they mind to follow forth; and I see it comes rather of her Council than herself, which I like the worse; for without doubt, Sir, it shall cut off all friendship ye had here. Although it were that once they had meant well to your Majesty, yet, remembering themselves that they have medled with your Mother's blood, good faith, they cannot hope great good of yourself, a thing in truth I am sorry for. Further, your Majesty may perceive by this last discourse of that I proponit, if they had meant well to your Majesty, they had used it other wise than they have done, for reason has bound them. But I dare not write all. I mind something to speak in this matter, because we look shurly our letters shall be truffit by the way.

For that I see private credit nor no means can alter their determination, although the Queen again and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me in particular; I mind not to speak, nor shall not; but assuredly shall let all men see that I in particular was no ways tyed to England, but for the respect of your Majesty's service. So albeit, at this time, I could not effectuate that I desired, yet my upright dealing in it shall be manifested to the world. We are, God willing, then to crave audience, where we mind to use sharply our instructions, which hitherto we have used very calmly, for we can, for your Honour's cause, say no less for your Majesty than the French ambassador has said for his master.

So I pray your Majesty consider my upright dealing in your service, and not the effect, for had it been doable by any, I might have here had credit; but being I came only for that cause, I will not my credit shall serve here to any further purpose. I pray God preserve your Majesty, and send you a true and sincere friendship. From London, this 12th of Jan. 1586.

I understand the Queen is to send one of her own to your Majesty.

¹ Dr Robertson explains this, 'Finished arguing upon this point.'

TO THE RIGHT HON. MY LORD VICE-CHANCELLOR AND SECRETARY TO
HIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY.

My Lord, I fend you these lines, with this inclosed, to his Majesty, whereby your Lordship shall understand how matters goes here. And before all things, I pray your Lordship move his Majesty to respect my diligence, and not the effect in this negotiation; for I fwear, if it had been for the crown of England to myself, I could do no more; and let not unfriends have advantage of me, for the world shall see that I loved England for his Majesty's service only. I look shortly to find your Lordship friend as ye made promise, and, by God, I shall be to you if I can. William Keith and I devyset, if matters had gone well, to have run a course that your Lordship might have here been in credit and others disappointed, but now I will do for you as for myself; which is to care for no credit here, for in conscience they mean not honestly to the King, our fovereign, and if they may, he will go the get his Mother is gone or shortly to go; therefore, my Lord, without all kind of scruple, I pray you to advise him the best is not this way. They say here, that it has been said by one who heard it from you, that ye desired not the King and England to agree, because it would rack the noblemen, and gave an example of it by King James the Fourt. I answered in your name, that I was assured you had never spoken it. Mr Archibald is the speaker of it, who I assure your Lordship has been a poison in this matter, for they lean very mickle to his opinion. He cares not, he says, for at length the King will be fain to deal this way, either by fair means or necessity, so that when he deals this course he is assured to be welcome. To set down all that is past of the like purposes, it would consume more paper than I have here, so I defer it to meeting. There is a new conspiracy alledged against the Queen to have been intended, for the French ambaffador resident three of his men taken, but I think in the end it shall prove nothing. Mr Stafford, who is ambaffador for this Queen in France, is touched with it; his

brother is taken here. Always it has done this harm in our negociation, that all this council would not move this Queen to meddle with the Queen of Scotland's blood, till this invention was found forth. I remit all other things to the inclosed. We minded to have sent to his Majesty a discourse, which we have set down of all our proceedings since our hither coming; but we are surely advertized that the bearer is to be trusted by the way for our packets, so that we defer it till our own coming: this I have put in a privy part beside the packet. We shall, I think, take leave on Fryday the 13th day, where we mind exactly to follow the rigour of our instructions, for it cannot stand with the King's honour that we say less than the French ambassador, which was, *Le Roy mon maistre ne peult moins faire que se resentir*. So that about the 24th I think we shall, God willing, be at home, except that some stay come which we look not for. The Queen and the Earl of Leicester has desired to speak with me. I refused save in presence of my colleagues, by reason I see a determination which particular credit cannot help, and I crave no credit but for that cause. It will please your Lordship retire the inclosed from his Majesty and keep it. So, after my service commended to yourself and bedfellow, I commit you to God. From London, the 12th of Jan. 1586.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

It may please your Majesty, since the direction of our former letters, we had audience, and her Majesty appeared to take our overtures in good part in presence of her Council; albeit no offers could take place with them, having taken resolution to proceed with extremity. Not the less, it pleased her Majesty to desire us to stay for two days on taking our leave, until she had advised upon our propositions; since which time, her Majesty is become more hard by some letters (as we are informed) has come from Scotland, making some hope to believe that your Majesty takes not

this matter to heart, as we know the contrary in effect, and had of before removed the like opinion out of her Majesty's mind, which by sinister information was credited. Their reports has hindered our commission, and abused this Queen, fearing in like manner we shall be stayed until answer come from Scotland by such person as they have intelligence of. And albeit that it will be well enough known to all men how heavily your Majesty takes this proceeding to heart, the truth is, that they have by this occasion so persuaded the Queen, that it is like to hinder our negotiation. As also Alchinder Steward is to be directed in their party, by our knowledge, who has awantyt more of his credit than I believe he may perform; and we willed him to desist from this dealing, saying it does harm, and he is not meet for that purpose, remitting to your Majesty's good discretion to take order herein; as we shall be answerable to your Majesty not to omit any point we have in charge, as the truth is, the Master of Graye has behaved himself very uprightly and discreetly in this charge, and evil tayne with be divers in these parts who were of before his friends. We have been beholding to the menstrals who has born us best company, but has not been troubled with others. Wylzeme Kethe hath left nothing undone that he had in charge. As for Mr Archibald, he has promised at all times to do his dewoyr, wherein he shall find true report made to your Majesty. Craving pardon of your Majesty that I have been so tedious, after I have kissed your Majesty's hand, I humbly take my leave. Praying God to grant your Majesty many good days and happy, in whose protection I commit your Majesty. At London, the 26th of Jan. 1586.

SIR, Albeit Master George¹ has not been in commission, he is not inferior in his service to any of us, as well by his good advice and diligent care he takes for the advancement of your service, wherein we have not been a little furthered.

¹ Mr George Young.

TO THE KINGIS MAJESTY, FROM THE MASTER OF GRAY AND
SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

PLEASE it your Majesty, in the last audience we had, since our last advertisement by William Murray, we find her Majesty at the resuming our offers something mitigated, and inclined to consider more deeply of them. Before we got leave, at our reasoning, certain of the council, namely, my Lord Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, my Lord Hunsdon, and my Lord Hawart, being present in the chamber, gave little show of any great contentment to have her from her former resolution, now cast in perplexitie what she should do; always we left her in that state, and since have daily pressed conference with the whole Council, which to this hour we have not yet obtained. This day we have sent down to crave our leave. The greatest hinder which our negotiation has found hitherto, is a persuasion they have here, that either your Majesty deals superficially in this matter, or that with time ye may be moved to digest it; which, when with great difficulty we had expugnit, we find anew that certain letters written to them of late from Scotland has found some place of credit with them in our contrarie. So that resolving now to clear them of that doubt by a special message, they have made choice of Sir Alexander Stewart to try your Highness's meaning in it, and to persuade your Majesty to like of their proceedings, where from no terror we can say out unto him is able to divert him; he has given out that he has credit with your Majesty, and that he doubts not to help this matter at your Highness's hand. If he come there that errand, we think your Majesty will not oversee the great disgrace that his attempts shall give us here, if he be not tane order with before that he be further heard; and if so be that any other be directed, (as our intelligence gives us there shall), our humble suit is to your Majesty, that it may please your Highness to hear of us what we find here, and at what point we leave this matter with her Majesty, before that they find accidence. The causes whereof remitting to our private letters, we commit your Majesty for the present to God's eternal protection. From London, this 21st of Jan. 1586.

NOTES OF A LETTER TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

WONDERS King James 6. should take so hainoufly þe death of his Mother, as to meditate revenge, being contrary to his interest and wisdom. First, þe quarrel being unjust, and no success can be expected in such a case; þat sentence being thought necessary for the Queenis safety and þat of þe land, he opposes himself to þe judgement of God, whose ministers they were in giving that sentence. Scotland not able to make head against England, it being stronger, and þe former weaker, by þe want of þe assistance of France, who are not so fond of þe old allies since England has lost its footing in France. Assistance from oþer foreign Princes not much to be depended upon, both being tedious, small, and uncertain, as the experience of þe Kingis Mother may discover. England need not fear all the attempts if attacked, which, by the conjunction of Holland and Zealand, has gott such strength by sea; and if þe King should invade England and be defeated, taken prisoner, this realm, so provoked, may disable him from þe Succession, as by law they may; oþerwise if he behave himself with þat moderation þat becomes a Prince of his perfections and education, which is also necessary in this remedyless accident, and by this kindness to Queen Elizabeth, who has so well deserved at his hands, he will win þe hearts of þe whole kingdom. If war should ensue, (now in a manner extinct), þe old quarrels and animosity would be revived to þat degree, þat þe English would never accept him for their Prince, but especially þe nobility would be irreconcilable, by whose sentence Queen Mary suffered, and would never suffer a Prince to rule over þem whom they have reason to fear would call þer Honours lives in question. Besides, þer are but two potentates upon whom he can depend for assistance to take present possession of þe crown, viz. France and Spain; and who would advise him to apply to eþer of them, discover both want of fidelity and

¹ SLOANE MSS. in Brit. Museum, No. 3199, art. 65, p. 112.

judgement: And it is not politick to trust to those who will be jealous of his greatness, as a hindrance to her desires and designs, which is the case unto those 2 Princes who are enemies of King James religion, seeing that bred a difficulty in his Mothers negotiations, and were only favorable because they hoped that she, being at liberty, by her wisdom, might convert him; if that did not succeed, the King of Spain was to be her heir; how much more will they be jealous of him, who is a man, and more powerful, by the union of the two Crowns? It is contrary to the interest of France to strengthen and make more powerful a King of England, who by so doing may be the more able to dispute his title to France itself; the French King will with great difficulty be brought to engage in a foreign war, *it being well known that that King, against his will, was engaged in the Civill war by those of the House of Guise, for the which he has good cause to complain*, whatsoever she makes. No doubt he hateth them, and wishes them confusion in heart. And if the French, by a pretext of King James quarrel, transport the war out of their own country into this island, King James would only be used as an instrument to serve a turn, as his predecessors heretofore have been, to the effusion of much Scotch blood, and the spoil of that realm. Neither is it the interest of the French King to advance the affairs of a king related in blood to the House of Guise, by whose assistance their design to possess that crown, and to depose the King, (a matter by him greatly doubted), may the better take effect. For the Spaniard, his age and unsettled estate should rather incline him to peace; if otherwise, his ambition cannot but be dangerous to your King his practices, his power, his colour of right; for it is well known how he had figured himself an Empire over this part of the world, what plots he laid for the compassing thereof; he designed the conquest of this land in Queene Maryes time, he being then our King in right of his wife; the conquest was fully concluded afterwards under colour of Religion, and by the Prince of Orange, then of the Privy Council, was since repeated. He now pretendeth himself the first Catholick of the blood royall of England, being before reputed, though falsely, heir of the House of Lancaster, as by the pedigrees and books published by the Bishop of Ross and others in his favour, may appear. It was practised, even during the late King of Scotis life, by the Jesuits and

divers gentlemen, to advance him to þe Crown by the way of election, to þe prejudice of her and her Lord, as meetest to restore þe Roman authority both here and elsewhere, though they did not altogether think of your Masters conversion, þey were assured he would not part with þe supremacy. We may easily judge how far he would prevail of þe donation made of this Crown by the late Queen of Scots, in her letters promised to be confirmed in her last Will and Testament, whereof his Ambassador at Paris, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, thinks not already to make open vaunt; and what herself hath practised to þat effect with her servants, since her condemnation, God knows. Lastly, being þe strongest, what should let him to dispose of þe prey as he listeth. And yet by change of his religion, he shall be able to mend þe matter is very improbable, considering þe same private respects of þeir own estates and pretentions will still remain; and for the King of Spains part, þe usurpation of þe kingdom of Portugall giveth evident proof þat his ambition cannot be restrained when he hath þe advantage, by any bonds of religion, honour, or justice; and þe simple A. . . . poor Don Antonio has received, notwithstanding he is a catholicque, doth sufficiently shew what is to be hoped for, þat ought happen to your Sovereign in like case.

But contrariwise, þe Kingis revolt from religion (which God defend) is likely to be judged a want of religion raper than a change, and would be his utter overthrow, and discredit in all Christendom; for as it shall lose him his native and faithful subjects, and well willers both at home and abroad, so will it but win him hollow hearted friends, in respect þat no appearance can be had of his constancy in any religion, if it shall appear that upon stomacke he shall turn from his God and that Religion, wherein he was extraordinarily instructed; neither can he presently expect to be inheritour of his Motheris party and credit here, which, notwithstanding, was not sufficient to hold all the Catholicks of England united.

And for his honour, it is sufficiently secured, feing he mediated so earnestly for her life to þe last; but she being now executed for such gud and necessary causes, it will be more for his honour to see how he can moderate his passion by reason.

And so it is wished by all good men, both for the common good of this island, and for his own greatness every way, that he were advised, and to thank God, who hath delivered him by this means of a great burden of conscience, which otherwise must have been upon him, as at whose hands God would have looked for a revenge of his Fathers blood, so innocently and horribly spilt, by her consent and privity, not to speak of the goodness of God towards him, in establishing his throne, continually undermined by her practices; the end whereof will be, if he be well counselled, the beginning of all happenings here, instead of being sent as hostage or ward to Pope or Spaniard, as he said Quene would have made him, he may absolutely and quietly reign.

Thus you see how the care and desire I have of the continuance of amity and peace between ye 2 kingdoms, has carried me into a long discourse. I trust you will do all the good offices which on your part shall be possible, considering that our satisfaction in this behalf shall be joined with the service of God, your own Sovereign, and Country, which thereby shall reap the blessed fruits of peace.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

MY GUID LORD, notwithstandinge your Lordship be sufficientlie prouydit of frendschipe in this parts, and of this whom wit, moyen, and experiens serwis them, till informe your Lordship better of the present estate of this contrie than I, yet, neuertheless, I thocht it just well be this present to make the guid will I haif to do your Lordships honour and service manifest and knowine onto your Honour, whereof your Lordship shall haif this part as my small walewre may extend to. I haif writtne to Mr Archibald Douglas at lenche, the werrie estate of matters at this present, whereof I doubt not but he will communicate with your Lordship: onely will I desire and fair-

¹ From the original, Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 48. This and the two following letters marked 876 †† are stated in the printed catalogue to be written by a 'Scots Intelligencer.'

warne yowir Lordship to be ware of the Secretarie, qwha traevells, be all moyen, to diveft Inglant of all kynd of frindschipe in þir pairts, and be þat moyen to mak yow unaebill to do aeny thing in þis contrie by him; quhairbe, togither with his graetnes with the King, he compellit France to feik his frindschipe, and sua to debaische his ennemies, and transfer þe credit of all in his owine persone; for affuritlie, if he dwrft hazarde, or saw aeny apirans, he wald nocht seis afs yeit to preis þe Kings Maiestie to goe þe Fraence cours; bot seing his Maiestie uþerways affectionat, he folwis his hwmowr, to mak his profite be all occasions, for, afs he says him self, he lipins for no gwid at þair hands, and is affurit þat þe King will be constranit to leif that cours before ane yeir be past. For the quhilk cowrs it fall nocht be gwide, þat ye leif of yowir deling with þe Master of Gray as yeit, qwha, sens his homcwme, is graetwmlie affectionat yowir way; and alls, þat it will be no small brydill to hawld þe Secretaire in ordwr. And in respect þat þe Master dar nocht deill him self with none of yow direclie, in respect of þe evill bruit he haes incwrrit for his last deling with Englande, it war gwide he war afs yeit delt with specialie be yowir Lordship, in qwhom he haes no small trwste, if it war bot to hawld of his will. He haes desyrit me to wreit to Mr Archibald in þis pwrpois, for wþerwafs I am no ways plaen with him, þerfor fik letters as is directit to him fend þem with myn, for so haes he desyrit to be done, and I fall mak þe answeris to be delywerit to Sir Haenrie Widdrington. He is entering at þis sam tyme in confederacie with the Erll of Huntlie, Crafwirde, Montrois, Rothes, Maxwell, and my Lord Clowde of Paesley, qwha ar all for þe moift pairt catholikis, affectionat to þe Fraence cowrs, and ennemies to þe Lords þatcam in at Stirlie. The Master, afs he says to me, dois þis to paertie þe Secretarie, qwha dois þat he can for þe present to wrack him, for all þir nobill men invyfs þe Secretaries credit. Always quhaitfoever near effect þis mater fall tak, yowir Lordship fall be forsein þerwith, togither with all þat Tomas Tyrie haes done in France for þe Master of Gray, quhoufone he fall cwme home, quhilk, afs þe Master is aduertifit, will be schortlie; sua þat þaer fall be nothing done heir in aenie forrein cowrs bot yowir Lordship fall be dewlie acqwentit þerwith. He is nocht till infist diligentlie with þe Kingis Maiestie, nochtwithstandine of aeny thing þat is past,

and yowir traevell will nocht be in waen, for his Maieftie will goe yowir way for aens, in fpyt of all theis þat will infist in þe contraer. My Lord Hamiltone and Boidwell ar þe graetaeft ennemies ye haif heir; bot ye haif þat awantage, þat þay are nocht ye wyfest in þe warld. I haif newer gottine woird afs yeit from yowir Lordship, quherof I merwell. I am constraenit to mak my continwall residens in Court, or wperwayfs I wald be improfitable in þir twrns. Remittine þe rest to yowir Lordshipis discretione, with my affectionat commendations of service to yowir Lordshipis self, committs yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione. From Edinbroche þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Yowir Lordships awin to be comanditt.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,
Sir Francis Walsingham,
Secretarie to the Qwins Maieftie
of Inglande.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

MY GWID LORDE, fens þe clofine of my letter wnto yowir Lordship, hawing founde þe Master of Gray greatwmlie alterat and chaengit of his former gwidwill and intentione professit to Inglande, afs in particwlar, he haed impairtit to myself þe nicht of befoir; qwhairat I merwelit greatwmlie, and þat in respect of his inconstante deling and fuddean mwttatione, and being werrie inquisitive to knaw and understande qwhait he haed for it, (afs in all things he is plaen with me), so did he dilaet at lenth unto me þe hoill cawfs of þis his haefstie wraeithe and passionat deling, confessine to me þat he haed wretine to my Lord of Leicester befoir his last cwmine in Inglande, and þat in maeters of aestate and graet importance, quhilk ar

¹ From the original in Harl. MSS. No. 292, fo. 50.

nocht neffisair to be reherfit at pis present; quhilk wreits my Lord of Leicester delywerit to Sir Alexander Stewart, to haif presentit to þe Kingis Maiestie of Scotlande, and pat for his disgrace only, afs in plaen terms he spak to Alexander, quhilk woirds he haes nocht left unreherfit. For þe quhilkis wreits, suppois he haed his warrand of þe Kingis Maiestie, yiet þe maeter itself was swa odiws, pat my Lord of Leicester did qwhait in him laey to perrall þe Masteris lyf, standing, honwr, and reputatione for ewer; and nocht only pis, bot þe Qwins maiestie hir self communicat fik purposis to Sir Alexander of þe Master, giffine him an exprefs commissiõne to impairt þe samings to his Maiestie, pat if Sir Alexander haed nocht disclofit þe secrecie of all þir plattis, the Master haed bein in no les parrell, þan he and all pat lwiffis him ar of aweill. Thir maeters war rewelit be Sir Alexander this Setterday, the thrid of Marche, I hawine clofit my letters þe nicht of befoir, and delywerit þem to Capitaen Carwell. I maey heir mak trew recoird of þir things, hawine hard Sir Alexander my cwfinge, and read þe Masters letters, being delywerit be Sir Alexander to þe Master; qwhairat I was not lytill abaifchite at my Lords wysdome, qwha cwld nocht conjectwr of þe mans naturall better, quhilk is knowine till all þe woird heir, and enters þe self in all his actions; yeit I haue infistit sua far with þe Master pat he is content till differ and superceid his jwgment of this maeter till I fulde wreit to Mr Archibald, afs I promisit to his Lordship to doe. Befoir my gwid Lord, faiuane yowir Lordshipis better awyfs and opinione, it war gwid my Lord Leicester fuld wreit his excwsis to þe Master in thir things pat ar fallen out, afs I belif far by his expectatione, and pat yowir Lordship wreit in þe Qwins pwrgatione, qwhairof Sir Alexander haes no prwif bot his awine sayine, quhilk is nocht with wfs werrie awtentik. Moir-ower, yowir Lordship will commwnicat þis maeter to Mr Archibald, and cawfs him wreit to me afs if I haed wretine to him in þis maeter. I gif nocht my awyfs to yowir Lordship in þis maeter, but graet cawfs and mony gwid motiwes and confiderations, afs yowir Lordship fall knaw be tyme; for indeid I am aestemit participant of all his procedings, sua that if he be falline, I can nocht gwidlie stande to do yowir Lordship aeny service or pleseir. Feir nocht of aeny thing þe Master can attempt agaenst yowir aesteit, for I fall be aebill to cawfs yow anticipat all his deseins, as yowir

Lordship fall haif þe prwif of my honestie, so will I howpe to be acknow-
legit. I will pray yowir Lordship to cawfs returne Mr Archibalds anfwer
of þis pwrpois to me with expeditione, togither with my Lord of Leicesters
and yowir Lordships letters, if it seim expedient to yowir wifdome. I
howpe schortlie till haif farder credit to do gwid officis for þe Kings
Maiestie my maisters fstanding, and for continwing þe pæce and frindschipe
betwixt the twa contris, qwhairinn I fall lack no gwidwill, sua far als my
fimpill moyen may extend. Sua, hawing presentit my hwmbill commen-
dations of service unto yowir Lordships felf, I leif yowir Lordship in Gods
holy protectione. Frome Edinebroche, þe thride day of Maerche, 1586.

Your Lordships maist affectionat to be
commandit with service,

876 ††

Thaer is nichtlie cartells tint, and pasqwills affixit, agaenst the King and
þe Lords of his Cownfall, prowokine him till ane rewenge of his Moþeris
dethe. It were best perfor þat maeters war hotlie handelit, for tym is
preciwfs.

To my werrie gwid Lorde,
Sir Francis Walsinghame,
Secretaer to the Qwines Maieftie
of Inglande.

ROBERT CARVYLE TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGAAM.¹

RYGHE HONOURABLE, my dutie remembred, these are to fertifie your

¹ From the original in the Cotton MSS. Calig C. IX. fol. 171. This letter was first published in Chalmers' Life of Queen Mary. It is also included in the 'Excerpta Scotica,' 8vo., Edin. 1825, a volume of fugitive pieces relating to Scottish affairs; and again printed by Sir Henry Ellis in his collection of Original Letters, 8vo., 1827.

Honor, that I have bene in Scotland ever fynce þe laft of February, and coude get no difpatche untill Monday þe fixt of this instant, att nyne of the clock in the mornynge; and then I receyved (att th'ands of the Secretary, whoe rulethe the Courte) a letter to Mr Carie from hym, by warrante from þe Kings Maieftie, which was to this effecte; that he ſhowlde write that the Kinge wold receyve no Embaffador as yet, partly by reaſon of his hevines and forowyng for his Mother, and alfo for that he is not reſolved that the Quenes Maieftie is ſo ſory for his Mothers death as he was informed ſhe was; and, further, becauſe he cannot ſtaye the rigor of his people, being wickedly bent and evel geven, as I bothe hard and ſawe with myne eyes; ffor there is dayly libells fett vpp in open ſtrete, and caſt into the pulpit, boathe ageynſt the Kinge himſelf, the Maſter of Gray, Mr Archibald Dowglas, and the preachers; and amongeſt the reſt, iiijth of this instant, there were two fett vpp at my lodginge very odiouſe and deteſtable ageynſt the Quenes Maieftie, the coppie wherof I haue ſent you here incloſed; which two I toke of, and the one I gave to the Secretary to ſhewe the Kinge, the other Mr Robert Carye hath to ſend to my Lord Chamberleyne. And truly I fynd, for all this ſturr, that the Secretary is very well incliened towards her Maieftie, and a favorer towards the mayntenaunce of peace and amitie, and the Kinge hymſelfe alſo. But towching the ſendinge awaye of Embaffadors into other countries, they are not yet fully agreed; and towching the Maſter of Gray and his doings, your Honor ſhall heer more in Roger Afhton his packquet: and ſo, vntill my next, I humbly take leave, comyttyng your Honour nowe and ever to the protection of th'Almightie, truſtinge you will accept my good will. Berwick, in haſt, the vjth of Marche, 1586.

Your Honours to my power,

ROBERT CARVYLE.

POSTSCRIPT.—Curcell's man ſtands faſte and firme, and is ready to be employed when I ſhall here from your Honour. It were good that the

Secretary were vfed, for he is very gret. Your Honour shall receyve a packquet from Roger Ashtone.

To the right honorable
Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,
principall Secretary to the
Quenes most excellent Maieftie.

(INCLOSURE.)

Fruere pro funere fume.

To Jesabell, that Englishe heure,
Receyue this Scottishe cheyne,
As presagies of her great malheur,
For murthering of oure Quene.

The cheyne was a litle corde off hempe tied halterwife.

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

MY LORD, I wreit wnto yowir Lordship in my last letters, fwme purpoifs
concerning ^{the Maister of Gray} *maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, qwhairof I have gottine no anfweir
as yeit, and therfoir will fuspend my jwgment of pat maeter till I heir
yowir Lordships opinione in particwlar, alwayfs (*ut candide cum amicis*
agam). Trew it is that he is become ane werrie great ennemie to yowir
^{Quins maiestie, your contrie, and al your proceedings,}
egxco thxqomxq, k/gf nscmfxq, hcp hb k/gf dffnqpxcvo, and thinks heir-

¹ From the original in the Harleian MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 292, fol. 54. The secret writing is decyphered in another hand, written immediately above the cyphers as here given.

efter till follow fwirth his first cowirs be all mins possibill, and sua to gif no
 occatione ^{to the catholiks to mistrust of him,} *mf maq nhmafbxyo mf txomfgom fr axt*, qwha, as yeit, haes
 no fik confidens in him as is requisit to effectwat aeny gwide twrne. For
 the qwhilk cawfs, efter matwer deliberatione, aestiming his standing to con-
 sist in doing of fume notable twrne, ^{to the avansment of the catholik} *ms maq hghcotqcm fr maq nhmafbxy*
^{religione, or alteratione of the present aesteit,} *sqbxvxcq, sf hbmqfhmxcq fr maq dfqoqcm hqomqxm*, he accwmpaniet
 me with his ^{letters of credit to the Erl of Huntlie; quha, being ane} *bqmmqfo fr nfqpxm mf maq qfb fr agcmbxq; egah, lqxcv hcq*
^{preceis catholik,} *dfqnqxo nhmafbxy*, mislyks alfua of þe present aesteit and governement,
 and haes the hoill nobill maen of this contrie bandit togither till assist, per-
 feu, and defend with him, and he with þem, in all his and thaer acteis, sik
 as ^{Craferd Montrois Marischal Ogilvy Kaertnes Sutherlande Sal-} *nfhrqfp tscmfjxo thfxonahb svxbgk yhqfmcqo ogmaqfbhpcq ohb-*
^{towne Elfinstone Forbes Gray,} *msgcq qbrxcomsgcq rjflqo vfhk*, with þe graettest pairt of owr Hielands,
 and all the barons and contrie maen. He offerit, in his letter and be me,
 to lay ane plate (hawing his assistance) ^{to let our King out of thir} *mf bqm sgf yxcv sgm fr maxf*
^{maens hands, Majestie} *thqco ahcpo*, and so nocht only to mwif his *thxgomxq* to tak aarms agaenst
^{Inglande, quhairupone libertie of conciens suld nessisarie follou,} *xcvbhpcq, egahxfgdscq bxlqfmq fr nscnxqco ogbp cqooxohfbxq rjbbjg,*
^{France,}
 bot alfua to perfwaid him to tak jwnay to *rfhcnq*, þat thereby all things
 micht attein to þaer defyrit effectis. I traevelit with ^{my lord Huntlie} *tk bffp agcmbxq* in
 this purpois, qwha was moir þan willing þerto, and werrie cwriws to know
^{forme of that plate} the *rjftq fr mahm dbhmq*; in particular promisen all kynd of assistance to
 þe forderance of the faming þat cwlde be reqwryit. For the quhilk caws,
 nocht hawing þat in commissiione, he wreit bak with me letters fwl of cre-
^{the Maister of Gray,} dit to *maq thxomqf fr vfhk*, hawing promisit þat ane of his maist specialls,
^{capitæn Kar, vehement catholik,} *nhdxmhqc yhf*, qwha is ane *gqaqtqcm nhmafbxy*, sulde haif folwit me with
^{Maister} expeditione, þat he and I micht haif spokine with þe *thxomqf* at lenthe in
 þat purpois. Always at my bakcwmine maeters wais alterat, and maen
 pwt by þaer dyet, pairtlie be his Maiestie rydinge wpone my Lord Max-

wall, and pairtly be the ^{Maisters} *thxomqfo pꝛovfhqng*, qwha haes nocht bein at court fens; and yeit he affuris me þat his disgraee is nothing els bot polie to pleifs the ^{Secretaer his ennemie, and thir lords Angus and Mar,} *oqnsqmhqf axo qccqtꝛq, hcp maxf bffpo hcvgo hcp thf,* qwha haes alredie confaewit ane jalwfiie agaenist him. The ^{Plat was,} *dbhm gho,* that the King sould have beine drawin to Dunfermling, ^{accompaniet} *mahm maq yxcv ofgbp ahgq lqxcq pfhgxc mf pgcrqfthꝛcv, hnngtdhcꝛqm* with sik of his auin domestiks as war for the purpois; *gxma oxy fr axo hgxc pftqomꝛyo ho ghf rff maq dgfdꝛo*; and so to haif ^{my lord of Huntlie,} perfuadit his Maiestie to haif wretine for *tk bffp fr agcmbꝛq*, qwha fulde haif beine with all his forcis alredie cwmning fordward for þat effect, sua ^{the King} þat *maq yxcv* fuld newer haif knowine the weritie of þat interpryfs qwhill the twrne, haed bein doing, and maeters fatlit, bwt ony hazarde or daenger ^{his Majesties auin persone;} of *axo thꝛqomꝛqo hgxc dqfoscq*; qwhilk, bwt dowl, compellis him to temporris farder with þir lords þat ar abowt him, þan wþerwayfs he wald doe; for hawine discuwerit fik attempts of ^{the Erl of Huntlie,} *maq qfb fr agcmbꝛq*, and wþeris, maide his Maiestie foircein, and þat, afs is supponit, rether by ^{feir faci-} *rqꝛf rhnꝛ-* ^{letie or craft,} *bqmxq ff nfhrm*, they think it nocht nidfwll þat his Maiestie be in aeny wayfs forrein of thaer proceiding, being affurit to haif his fawoir and gwid will qwhainfoewer thaer conspiracies fall be effectwat. ^{My Lord of Huntlie} *tk bffp fr agcmbꝛq* at his goine to court, the xx day of Apryll, wafs staeyit be ane chaerge of the Kings maiestie; and yeit cam fordwart wpone the assurance of ane ^{letter of his Majestis prively convoyit to him, and} *bqmmqf fr axo thꝛqomꝛo dꝛagqbk nfcgskꝛm mf axt*, qwhair he was *hꝛq* ^{nicht be the way in Dunfermling with the Maister of Gray,} *cꝛnam lq maq ghk xc pgcrqfthꝛcv gxma maq thꝛomqf fr vfhk*, and fwld be paer in his Lordships bakcumine; at qwhait tym fwl resoltione will be taen of all pwrpoises befur specifiet. Wpon þaer resoltione, I fall nocht feill till adwertifs yowir Lordship in haest, togither with ony wther thing of importance þat fall occwr in þis meintyme. There is graet appirance of ane alteratione at þis present, and þat in respect of the graet miscontentment, togither with his Maiestie is wpone þe point to pas his yeirs of rewocatione. Qwhaitfuewer the King haes done afs yeit with France, the Catho-

likes heir haes no howpe of it. The ^{Secretar} ^{puts} ^{the} ^{laerd} ^{of} ^{Fintrie} *oqnfqmhf dgmō maq bhqfp fr rxcmsxq*
in ane graet opinione pat he fall mwif ^{the} ^{King} ^{to} ^{goe} ^{the} ^{Fraence} *maq yxcv mf vsq maq rfhqcnq*
^{cours,} *n/gfo*, be ye quhilk affurance ^{Fintrie} *rxcmfxxq* did qwhait he cwld to haif renewit
be frindschipe twixt þem, quhilk wafs nocht effectwat. ^{Fintrie} *rxcmfxxq* wreit into
France in þe said ^{Secretars} ^{favors} ^{to} ^{the} ^{Bischoipe} ^{of} ^{Glasgu} *oqnfqmhfo rhgffo mf maq lxonafoxdq fr vbhoug* and
wperis, bot his letters war interceptit, and he haed in þe laes aestimatiōne
in respect of his ower graet simplicitie. Remitting þe rest to yowir Lord-
ships discretiōne and answeir, hawing my hwmble dewtie rememberit unto
yowir Lordship, committs yowir Lordship in Gods holy protectione, the
xxvj of Apryll, 1587.

Ȝowir Lordships awine to be commanditt
with service,

876 ††

To my verrie gwid Lord,
Sir Francis Walsinghame,
Secretarie to the Qwins Majestie
of Inglande.

SIR HENRY WEDDRINGTON TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.¹

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.
. the convoye of y . . .
. and the xijth he returned to
towne, and brought no answere of those letteris, because the tyme was not
convenient nor the [King] and Counsell at leasure; for that upon the xth

¹ Cott. MSS. Caligula. D. 1, fo. 206. Unfortunately the volume of MSS. marked Calig. D. 1, is very imperfect, being so much injured by fire as in many places to be illegible. The words within brackets are conjectural readings.

of this instant the Master of Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought before the King and Counsell, wher the Master was an hower and a half in secreet conference with the King, and the [King], comynge from the Master of Graye, called all the Counsell and the noblemen together; where both the Master [of] Graye and Sir William Stewarde were brought face to face before the King and Counsell and whole nobilitye, where Sir William Stewarde accused him of certen points of treafone. [One] was, that he pretended to have flaine the Lord Secretarye, wherby the Court might have bene changed, and the King delivered to the northern Lordis; an other, that he wrote a letter secretlye to her Maiestie, that if she determyned to execute the Quene, pat it myght be done closely and qu[ietly]; and finallye, that all his proceedings were un diffimulacion with his Maiestie; and that the Earl of Huntley and the Lord Claude were of the [partie] with the Master for the killinge of the Lord Secretar: Who chardged him before the King that he lyed falselye, or any other that would take his parte, to avouche that matter of the [murder], and that if he had bene sufficient invocat, they would have proved themselves upon him; chardging him he was ever accompted no[thing] but a liar and murderer himself.

And since they were noe other would witnesse with him

.

 who was his informer and
 said George was brought in, and
 he had informed Sir William Stewarde of any
 who flatlye answered he lyed, and said that
 beinge as good a gentleman as he ever was, he would prove it uppon hym that he fa[lsely] belyed him. So that Sir William Stewarde has greatlye difcredited himself.

The King seameth to be greatlye displeased with the Master of Graye, and hath given him [in charge] to the Earle Huntley. And if the Lordis had not floode well with the Master, yt is thought the King would have stricke of his heade.

The Maister of Gray was carryed to Edenburgh castle to pryfon againe that night, as [was] Sir William lykewife.

There examinacion the first day contynewit from twoe in th'afternoone till 9 at night; and the next day following thei were to be brought before the King, Counfell, and Lords againe.

For the next dayes proceading, as yet I heare not further of yt, but by the next your Honour shall understand more at lardge of [the] wholle proceedings, as I shall receave inte[lligence].

The wholle nobylitie is in Courte at the and have bene ever sence the ij of this monthe, fave only th'erle of Anguishe, who is not but the for the that the K. myndeth from him.

And so for this tyme I remyt your Honour to the protection of th'Almighty. Burwik, the xijth of Maye, 1587.

Your Honours most humble,

HENRY WEDDRYNGTON, K.

To the Right Honourable
Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,
principall Se[cretary] to her Maiestie,
and [one of her] Highnis most
Honourable Privie Counfell.

INDICTMENT AGAINST PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY, MAY 23, 1587.¹

COMPERIT Mr Dauid M^cGill of Nisbet, Aduocat to our Souerane lord,

¹ From PITCAIRN's Ancient Criminal Trials, Vol. I. Part 3, p. 157.

and produceit the Dittay after specefeit, and desyrit proces; of the quhilk the tenour followis.

Dittay against the Maister of Gray.

PATRIK MAISTER OF GRAY, Ze ar indytit and accusit, that ze haif laitle, within þe space of þis zeir bypast writtin, delt and travellit to France for findrie materis preiudiciall to þe Religioune presentlie profest be our Souerane lord and his subiectis; and therefore, to haif had libertie of conscience, or otherwyis to fy [say] forme of Religioune, to haif bene vfit att ewerie manis awin appittite within þe realme; incontrair þe tennour of þe Actis of Parliament; incurrand þairthrow the panis contenit in þe famin. *Secundlie*, Indytit and accusit, that during þe tyme foirfaid, he hes intendit to deill with sum perfonis in France, that be þair moyane, throw his informacioun, our Soueranis mariage with þe King of Denmarkis dochtir (being ane deed honest and lauchfull in prefens of God and men) mycht haif bene stayit; takand thairthrow vpoun him, without ony warand, forder thane becumit ane subiect of his dewtie to haif done; speciallie, in that his intentioun tendit to þe hindrance of þe Kingis mariage, being ane act profitabill to þe commoun welth of þis realme. *Thryddie*, Indytit and accusit, for þe vndewtifull wryting of lettres, concerning the estait of his Maiestie and þe realme, in Inghland; without his Maiesties knowlege or command; thairthrow exceding far þe dewtie of ane subiect. *Ferdlie*, Indytit, that he hes travellit in materis quhilk mycht haif destroyit the estait of þis realme; quhilk trawell, gif it had tane effect, his Maiesteis person mycht haif bene indangerit, committing þairthrow the cryme of Treffoun. *Fyftlie*, Indytit, for counterfitting of þe Kingis stamp,¹ and putting of the famin to ane letter writtin with his Maiesteis awin hand, without his command or auctoritie to do þe famin; and ficlyke, for reteneing and keping of þe famin stamp in his handis. *Saxtlie*, Indytit for diuers and findrie vtheris offences and crymes of Treffoun, alreddie declarit and confest be him to his Maiesteis self; quhairof he is giltie; quhilk he can nocht deny. Lyke as, the haill pointis of Dittay

¹ A *oschet* or stamp, bearing a fac-simile of the King's signature.

aboue writtin ar of veritie, as he can nocht deny þe famin, nor na pairt pairof.

The said Patrik Maister of Gray offerit himselff and become in oure Souerane lordis will and mercie for the faidis crymes.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

My gud Lord Hamiltone hes heme haertlie comendit to your Lordship, for he cane nocht meruell of your lang stay: trewlie ye hewe heme alfs fare to do yow freindschip as ye hewe any mane in the world. His Maiestie hes takin deliberatione to ryd is ordenit for theme is extirpatione. This day his Maiestie beginnis and wowis to God, nocht to ly ane nicht quher he is ane vther, till they be all baniscit Scotland gif you ver to mak speid, I think yeit ye fall try and in tyme first is to be pute to the vill ouer pafs I think als mikill as fall ferfe for yowr returne befor ferrar be med in the north. I veis ye vere heir agane, thene, in caece ye ver veriet, ye micht tak repos in your awin hous of Dunfermling. Bring all the horsis with yow ye cane purches, for they ar meruelus skant heir. His Maiestie is meruelus weill plaesit with my Lord Hewme. I hewe no regret bot of my Lord Bothuell. I trust ye salbe the first mane to procure his pardone, albeit, in trewth, he hes done yow some wrang at this tyme, yeit vithin thise fewe dayis he hes gifen me assurans be his letter, that his doing vith the Erll of Huntlie is rather for your veill nor eny vther respek in the world, in so fare that my Lord Huntlie wilbe als glaed to gif yow your awin as ye vould be to refewe it: quhen euir my Lord Huntlie think, I know it to be trew that my Lord Bothuell hes this promiss of heme. He hes, at fundrie tymes, spokin verie fauorable to myself in this faime mater, bot, thankis to God, ve fall nocht now be so fare in

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1. art. 176, fo. 364. James Gray was the brother of the Master. He was for some time one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber. The date of the year in James Gray's letters is wanting; but the circumstances they relate, particularly the King's surprise at Halton, show that they were written in 1589.

his [pouer]. As for me, I protest before God, he mycht a gifin faere vords to heme: he mycht a persuadit more effellie to beleif theme nor me, for he hes comit to his litill bok no litill falsate. For God faek mak speid in your cuming. God be vith yow one horfbak in gryte haest, this morning the xj of Apprylle, [1589].

J. GRAY.

JAMES GRAY TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

MY LORD, I refaut your Lordships letters, being vith my Lord Hewme in hyg intencion to hewe stayit his resolutione tuiching his present parting of the cu[ntrie] to the tyme ve had hard farder from your Lordship; quherin his Lordship, as in all the offers concerning your veill, hes schewin heme self most lowing and ry He veil yeit stay wpone your returne tuentie dayis, and at that tyme as ye fall think meit, no mane is abill to retard his deliberatione [but] ye onlie. I veil maist ernistlie requyst yow to mak haest in your cuming: yowr linggeringe going hes done yow harme, yeit yowr prefens will help all that hes bein, and is sic as necessarilie mene mane knaw quher to find theme so trowlie the trewest freindis, as I may saye, in constant loyall behauore, ne fu[ch] in this cuntrie hes better. I ame nocht ignorant quhow fare fundrie of yowr f[reindis] hethe bein intyfit be faere conditions and offeris to hewe bein drawin by y[ow], bot the hope they hewe of yowr future prefens incuragis theme aganis the [fal]fatis of yowr enemies present. For Godis faek tempt theme no more, [but] be queik in yowr returne, that ve may tak a cours agreabill to [yowr] service, and meit for our awin standinge. The tyme, in my appeirans, is verie proper for this purpos. Mene heth so fare imbarkit theme selfis directlie aganis [his] Maiestie, that the lowed found of there retraet fall nocht be hard. My Lord [Bothwell], tho expreslie aganis his Maiesties comand, and aganis his awin promifs be vord a[mouth] befor his parting, and fins, hes cum to Dunfirm-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 205, fol. 409.

ling, as is thocht to hewe ref[cut] his Maieftie there from fic as ves appoyntit to hewe takin his Maieftie, being at his hunting and pafstyme in Haltone, quher his Maieftie ves difpofit to hewe f[tayit] aucht or tene dayis; bot vpone the aduertifment of this, fuddenlie in [the nicht] this laft Sunday come to this towne; quhilk hes difapoyntit all ther [schemes] this tyme, fo that ewerie vne fufpectit to be vpone this attempt hes thi . . . fend there excufis to his Maieftie; bot there partis refis to be tryit, and his [Maieftie] veill nocht pafs theme owir in filens. My Lord Bothuell in this mater . . . how yowr abfens hes bein fumquhat abusit; and hes bein vpone the fervice of ther maters, nocht fo mikill for veill of the caufs, nor leufe of [thofe] he is in fallowship vith, as fore deadlie inwy he baeris the Chancler. Bot ye knaw ye may laed heme be the nofs, and trewlie I val[d haue] yow the founer heir for his caufs. I thinke ye falbe the firft to mak paece. Yowr longe ftay cane nocht aneuch be admird of all this cu[ntrie]. Gif ye fuld cum poft, I hope ye fall nocht cum fo . . . to refaue yowr . . . is my Lord falbe redie to delyuer it, and that for his gud be . . . the diuifione is the fame ves at Striueling Raed, except in my Lord Bo[thuel]s perfone, and in my Lord Glamis, quha is detenit . . . bot there i . . . diuouris gif my Lord Chancler and he be nocht in found dealling, certene [it is] the Chancler and Iuftice Clark ar agreit, and that be Sir . . . Meluelis mediatione. The Chancler renders yow haertlie thankis for yowr frenf[chip]. He vretis none to yow, for that ewerie [day] he loukis aftir yowr felf. Vord ves heir certene tene dayis . . . in . . . or Englos and yeit . . .

The caufs quhy I hawe bein fo lange a vretting [is] becaufe his Maiefties being at pafstyme, quher the Chancler culd nocht be hed, bot maer be caufe I vold hewe fowme fewre intelligens of thife thingis [quhilk] hes bein of [late,] fins the refet of yowr laft letters, in brewing. I am of the Chanciers mynd in that. I knaw nocht quhat to vret to yow till yowr cuming, faef vne thing, that it is meiteft ye cum, in respect ye falbe velcum bothe to the eftaet spirituall and temporall, I . . . in particulare by many of theme felfis. The caufs I vrot fo fuddenlie with Mr Richard

Douglas, ves for that I thocht affuredlie my letter fuld hewe cum to yowr handis at Beruik, or at least betuixt that and Londone. I pray forget nocht that gentilmanis curtesie, [for] trewlie ye ar mikill obliff to heme. I hewe fend for my Lord . . . and yowr vyfe, according to the directione of yowr letter. Sche fall da[ell vith] my Lord hir fathir in the mater ye vrot of, bot I fai . . . his recidens be verie schorte heir. I fear to trubill yow vith ewerie nathlie trifill at this tyme: theis fall abyd yowr [leifure] at yowr returne. I juge this fame letter fall gif yow rancunter be the vay, or gif it do nocht, I pray yow that my nyxt do it. So, my verie humbill ser[wice] rememberit to yowr Lordship, I comit yowr Lordship to Gods euir[lasting] protexione. Frome Courte, this xiiij of Appryll, [1589].

Your Lordship lowing brother
aluayis to be commandit
vith service,

" J. GRAY.

Sundrie yowr Lordships frends avatis yowr cuming in this towne, and vill all meit yow at Beruik.

[Excuse] I pray your Lordship, both the vret and [spelli]ng, for it ves done in gryt haest, [and] paper culd nocht be hed.

For the Master of Gray of Scotland,
presentlie at Londone.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

MY LORD, I must vyffet you with my lynes as often as I can get convoy. Yesterday cam in before the Kyng and Councell divers great men of

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 395. Thomas Fowler seems to have been the English resident or envoy at the Scottish court.

power that lye rownd abowt Huntleyes lands and Arroles, as Malcontoshe, the Laird of Graunt, all the Forbaffes and Dromonds, Frendrathe, and others; and geven in theyre hands, and ostages (that be caryed with the Kyng), that they shall profecute and aprehend all traytors in this jorney confederat with Huntley, and hathe speciall names of pryncypall men set downe. The pryncypall howse of Arroll, called Slanes, a xvj myles from this towne, is furnished with a garryson, and kept for the King. Huntley is straitly kept, and therefore discontent, and makes meanes to be banyshed, and offers cawfyon of any noble men in great somes, that he shall neyther deall with straungers to molest this country, nor religion in it, nor shall ever returne without lycence obteyned of the Kyng. He wold fayn be gon, and sum great ones of thes noble men wold have it grant, as the Lord Hamelton for one; but it is now set down, that he shalbe arayned and found guilty of trefon thereafter; they will take farder order. But if he get lowse by banishment, I lyke it not, and dothe what I can to perswade the contrary. I pray your Lordship hasten the cominge of fuche a one hether as I have wryten *of before, and all shalbe well; for thys nobyllitie [are] afrayde to toche him in blud. For ought that I see they meane to arayne him* and fynd him guilty, but to stay judgment. What that shold meane I know not well. I perceave sum of this party hathe assured him absolutely for his lyffe and lands, which, they say, they dyd to get him. In all wayes the Kinge is free of any condifyon with him. Yesterday allso was a petycyon presented to the Kinge and Councell, to lyfence the Master of Gray to cum in. The Kinge aunswered it, that at Edenbrough, at a generall convencyon, it was ordered that all Papists shold avoyd the country, and that frome thence forthe not any Scots man that was abroad in other cowntrye, and knowne to be affected with papystry, sholde [come] home, nor enter into this realme, before the Kirke [was] satyffied of theyre fowndnes in religion, and intercessors for them, and the Master of Gray especyallie [was] intended in this decre, which was proclaymed in all cittyes and burrowes of Scotland; therefore he will not graunt the sayd Master his entraunce before that order were performed, for he wold not breke so [good] a purpose. So I perceave theyre will be sum stay his coming in. This is all at this tyme.

Yet sence is aryved here Mr James Hudfon, who [was] with the Kinge and Chancellour about the sayd Master of Graye. The Chancellour beinge perswaded of his Maiesties lykinge, and sum good folkes of his cominge perswaded presently lyk . . . for it, with provisyon that he shold satiffy the [Kirk] within forty dayes, and the Chauncellour is resolved that the Master kepe a good cowerse with him. He will use co . . . This day we remove to Donotter, the Erll [Marschalls] howse, and so on to Sterlyng and to Edenboroghe. God preserve your Lordship. This last of Aprill, 1589. Haberden.

Your Lordships loving frend and
cowssen to command,

T. FOWLER.

It is geven out here secretly by Bodwells frends, that not withstanding all this rule he makes, his hatred to Ingland in his unreverent speches of hir Maiestie, that there is an intercowrse of dealing by letters betwene the Lord Chamberlayne and him, which the Chauncelour and others marvells at, if it sholde be true, but can hardly beleve it, and I perswade to some it is a device to shew his credit.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

the treuthe of our estait vitche I fand [to be very] different from that I did accompt it to be, for I perceave a greater difficultie then I lukit for [from] the persecutioun of theis Rebelles, be reasoun of the King my masters sumquhat to passionat affectioun towardis them for sum particulaire respects, vitche, as the Chancellar affirmis, did grou from the stories vsit be the Queen your souveraine in that maiter: for in the begining haid any man of sperit bein fend hither, the Kings neecessitie, vith the concur-

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art 189, fol. 382. The commencement of this letter is wanting.

rence of the veil disposit noble men about his Maieftie, [would haue]
 moveit him for to accord to quhatfumeuer should have bein demaundit.
 Bot the tym past, and the rebellis haid so many freindis about him, that
 they submittit themfelfis [to] a forme of entering. Yet albeit the King
 feimit not to deal in any capitulation with them: he moueit the noble
 men abowt him to giue vnto the rebelles promiseis of lyf,¹ [liberty], and
 goodes; the promifers ver Lordis Hamiltown, Angus, Mar, Morton,
 Heume, Marafchall, and Master of Glammifs. The [Lord] Chancellor
 found in theis, if farther ordre ver not taken, verie great danger; and
 yet would not feim to be the doer of it, bot moveit the King to con-
 vein his Estaits; quhere the [thing] being propofit, it ves concludit that
 the Rebelles, so maid coulpable of thair fact, be kept strictly and fr
 . . . the first point ves performed, by Huntly his submissioun, and con-
 fessing of treasonis, and by Bothuell and Crauford thair convictioun by
 ane assyse of thair pēires . . . strict keeping; it is there
 they be yet prifoners . . .
 of inhabilitie. Treuly thair is no appearence . . .
 I may tell in my particulaire, for in a maiter . . .
 by Huntly vitche appertinethe to me, the King hes [said, he] vill in
 Godes [name] prefer no man to him. So that, to vryt plainly, I fee no
 appearence that any of the 3 pointis concludit in conventioun stratlie exē-
 cut agenst . . . from our selfis, and in this I knou fume men,
 inclined to do our Chancellor good, haithe hermit him for to . . .
 haue maid his credeit futche with the King, that quhat he pleaseth he may
 get done. Bot in this they ar [ftran]gers bothe in the Kings awin naturell,
 and in our estait . . . vill affur your Lordship, the Chancellor quhat
 he may [do he] vill, bot all he would, he may not: for the Lord Lennox
 is nou a man, and accomptit for his aige a g[reat] diffimuler and reafon-
 ablie acute. He beginnethe to have interest in the Kings ear, and of
 naturall inclinatioun he . . . rune to the course, and freinds, for
 dyverfis respects, thois Rebelles, vitche is no small impediment to . . .
 thing the Chancellor of him self could propone . . . maiter one vther
 thair is, the Master of Glamifs . . . the estait in futche termes, that
 if he ver greit with the Chancellor, he lukethe to fall in his place . . .

moveit him factiously to fil the Chancellars rume. He indirectly deal-
lis vith Huntly and fume of his fo[lloweris]; fo, that appeirand to be
ennemie, quhatever he fayeth it tendethe for Huntlyis avantage;—to the
King he feimethe to speik it for the Kings veil, and veil of estait . . .

. auin dispositioun inclyning thairto. In forte he is
in a maner the vphoulder of Huntly reght. This fare I
doubt if it be plainly your men heir, for your Embaffadour
is accomptit sumquhat fimple for our estait; and when men [fette] one a
ground, if it tuitche the King his Maiestie in co[n]science, it] detolves
him from it, vitche I haue not of for that I nauer as yet
haue practiquet the m bote of the Chancellor, and a nombre
of vther [veill] villars, who would be glaid, from thair
that fume man of countenance ver fend hither extremitie of
justice nou can not be haid, that pointes resoluit by estaites micht be
crauit to be vitche vithout doubt shalbe grantit, for the K[ing]
is futche, that at this tym he vill not refuse her Maiestie your souveraines
reasonable petition befyd this, the Chancellor vill advyfe your
L[ordship] and the King bothe, in maiters he can not propone himself,
by reafoun, as I haue said, he is greu both
directly and indirectly, for futche a propo findis
noe man fitter then Mr Robert Boues, for [one knowin] in our affaires is
requifit, and for fo scho imployment small moyens for a great
good M[after] his inhabilitie. Remitting aluayis the choife of that to
your Lordships vyfdome, bot one is neceffarely requifit
vitche any thing to be performed. As for the

. that I could
In it
durft not haue medlit in it, for the day befor this toun, the holl
merchandis in concurrence maid [head] and boftit my Lord Hamiltoun
and Chancellor, becaufe they opposit them felfis to the marriage; fo that I
am lothe to speik in it, and I think I shall affectuat, for
the King craueis fo great maiters bo[the in this] and vther pointis, that
I doubt if they to performe it, and in this country thair be

verie [few] noble men inclynable to it. I would haue vrytten to her Maieftie particulairly quhat the King haith faid to [me in] that maiter, bot I forbear, for that I haue not delt in vther pointis vith him, bot by Mr Hudfon, who fhallbe despetchit towardis her Maieftie. Vithin fyue or fix [days], I fhall, God willing, aduertis her Maieftie of all thingis, and more particulairly then goodly, I may at this tym by reafoun of fume heaft. I feare her Maieftie tak not veil that the money fche fend to the King for [the] greater pairt, is deftyneit to th' Earle Marchall for [defraie of] his voyage in Denmark, bot fche fhall not blam [the] Chancellor for it, nor haith fche any caufe. Ref[talrig will] aduertis your Lordship, that all the jalousies conceiuit of me proceedit of fume opinioun they haid that I ves go[verned] by Mr Archibald Douglas. And thairfor I pray your Lordship, the treuthe wer to fchau how, when for malice Mr Archibald would haue calumniat the Chancellor, I told your Lordship the fimple treuthe. This I pray your Lordship vryt to Mr
. Mr Afchby, whither from negligēce or fume
fauforably of me, he neuer vtterit the fame bot I am not to be a fore accufer of it, for [I] hoyp, God willing, to be able to do my awin turn. In the particulaire of Dumfermling, albeit be half pairtie as yet, I trust I fhallbe Thus haueing to long troublit your Lordship, I [commit you] to Godis holy protectioun. From Edinborrou, [the iiij day] of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordships to do you [feruice],

MS. of Gray.

To the Right Honourable
My Lord Bourgley, Lord Heiche
Threasurer of England, [one] of her Maiesties
of England honorable Counfell.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHELEY.¹

MY LORD, efter this uther letter wes wrottin, Mr Afchby, hir Maiesties embaffador, fend me on from your Lordship, ~~bot~~, befor the receyt of it, I had taikin leue of his Maiestie to go vissie my father and my hous, so that presently I think I can apswer it in litle, forther then is alredy conteinit in my other letter: for thair is futehe unuorthy men about the Kings Maiestie that honest men can nether do nor speik bot is misconstructured. Yet within a day or tuo I am to retourn~~e~~ and then I shall concur with the Chancellor; bot I knou he wilbe lothe to deall ether directly or indirectly in stay of the mariage with Denmark; for, as I had wrottin the verie day befor I came to this toun, thair arose a great agentt my Lord Hamiltoun and him; for he, all noble men and gentlemen, save a verie feu particulars, be altogether inclyning to Navarre. So that my opinion is, bothe for that and other maiters, that Mr Robert Bowes sould be fend hither, and indirectly, the Chancellor and my self shall advyse him hou to stay the maiter, and her Maiestie never to acknowledge it; nor yet shall it be knowin in Denmark the maiter to proceed from her. And in the mid tym I shall deall quhat I can with his Maiestie, according to the reafouns fete doun in your Lordships letter, and by Mr Hudfone shall mak you advertifit hou fare I proffit. Bot as I wrot, th'Erle Marefchall hes alredy receavit a great pairt of the money her Maiestie fend to the King, for defraie of his voyage. The charge of this mariage is one Mr Peter Young, [Mester Almowfer to his] Maiestie, who ves first imployed in the fame. As for my actiouns, so fare as they may extend, shall ever be to doo her Maiestie service, nixt my auin Master, and I hoyp the Chancellor will do the fame, so that bothe *propter istud ter* our auin particulair weilles as your Lordship co it shalbe agentt my will if we [quar]reil amongst our selfis. I have hard [nothing] from Mr Archibald Douglas of newis, nor wisch I to heir from him. Bot wold be glaid to [hear] from your Lordship if

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 381.

any be good. So let me comit your Lordship to Godis holy protectioun.
[From] Edinborrou, this 5 of Junij, 1589.

My Lord, it shalbe, in my opinion, verie pertinent [that the] Secretary
wryt a letter to the Chancellar, conteining some argumentis sett down by
your Lordship, and futch a letter [as the] Chancellar may veil schaw to
his Maieftie, as proceding from Mr Secretars felf.

Your Lordships to comand,

Patrick Master of Gray.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

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. your Lordship to understand that fen
. by the Ambassadors convoy toching the ty
acc Kings maryage, and the resolucyon upon the fame,
I fynd styll to holde, and the Erl Marshall preparyng in haft to goo with
the next wynde, for his instruccyon is not drawne to a poynt, but sum of
them agreed a I fynd that the Kinge is caryed by Coronell
Steward, but specyally by Peter Yonge, in this matter of his maryage,
frome the Chauncelour, and all other, so far as he comends the de-
lying of the towne of Edenbroroghe, and alowes [it to] procede of zeale
and affeccyon they beare him, and to avoyde an extremety lyke to fawle
upon themselves for theyre trade, yet he condemnes them for unreverent
speches that the baser sort shold use agaynst the Lady of Navar. And
sum other the and theyre raylings agaynst Ingland, which he
wold have had sum ponished for, but there was no partyculer men charged,

¹ Cott. MSS. Caligula, D. 1, fol. 379.

it was so generall. The sayd Stewerd and Yonge hathe put in his hed that the fyfter of Navar is olde and coked, and sumthing worfe if all were knowne; and fettes forthe the vther. So that it aperes the Kinge hathe conceaved a dyslykinge by imagynacyon, which makes the Chauncellor yeld, and allow of his procedinges that way, but is forry for it in his hart, and hathe told me in secret, that there hath none but fooles dealt in that negocyacyon as yet, fuche as ar vayne . . . and hoepes to gayne to them selues by it; regarding not the good of theyre Master, and even now tuo fuche lyke, but of a higher degree, for the Marshall and the Lord of Dingewell, that goe with him, will not bothe make a wyse man. And their instruccyons shalbe fuche as the Chauncelour thinke they in Denmark will never agree unto: one is, that they shalbe bound to furnishe the Kinge ten thou[sand] men, payd and armed for fyx monthes, if he [should nede] to use them, for the obteyninge of Ingland after hir Maiesties defease. It was once agreed on so longe as he shold nede them. I thinke to get all the wh . . . sone as they be drawne perfect, but non is present . . . The sayd Peter Yonge determined to goe with the [Erll] Marshall, and the Kinge comends it, and it . . .

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that Yonge

instruccyons to himfelfe that shalbe more

be not lyked, so that they will haue no ft

matter, but hoopes to brynge hir home with the

at his returne, and make no moe sendings whea

It was set downe that the Erll sholde have but

the couenants of the maryage, and the Lord Chancellor

shold haue gon for her, the Erll Marshall is perswaded by sum frends, of which in truthe I am one, that Peter [Yonge] will robbe him of all the honour, havynge byn there before, and havinge secret instruccyons. And now he will not goo at all if Peter Yonge goo, and tells the [King] so playnly yesterday; so that yet the matter is not agreed upon. It is wished here by the well [willers] to Ingland, that the Cowncell of Denmarke myght be wrowght to answere, they wold conclude no maryage with the Kinge, without the Quene of Inglands consent; and that the forward

Scots Da[nistes, that] will take so much upon them, dyspisyng that hir Maiestie shold meddle in the Kings maryage, may be dryven from theym unlesse she be pleased. The Master of Gray hathe com[municate] with me at length; the Chauncelour uses him well, and they haue had large conferences together, and the King geves him resonable good countenance, but his credit is lyttel with him. He sekes alwayes to [obtain] the Abbey of Domfermlynge, at least to haue the [benefitt] of the lawe allowed him, which is so resonable [that] it cannot be well refused, and the Chancelour is of [that] opinyon; yet the Kinge hathe made no answer: but to me he can never get it by lawe. The Master spekes exceding well of England, and agaynst all that be not well affected to the amyté. If he so contynue I shalbe glad; but he condemnes the hardnes of her Maiestie, and that she loses much there by; and d . . . it by reson in many thinges. I dowt his credit will not be much here a longe tyme. Thus I deale playnly with your Lordship, letting you knowe the [state] of all, reseruyng the rest to your Lordships owne wyse conclusion: Allwayes I must beseeche your Lordship that thes may be kept secret. I know the Master wrytes [at length, so] that myne is the lesse nedefull; but I must be done

my opinion that it is excedinge nedefull to haue a gentleman of accompt [sent] hether. And he thinks it wolde stand him in good sted for his owne partyculer. The Erlls ar gon to feveral prysons in the country; Bodwell to Taintallon, Huntley to Bartyke Castell,¹ Crauford to St Androies; and every [one] a trusty gentleman with sum gard for theyre keeping. And so they rest without more yet. For other matters I refer to my Lord Ambassadors letters. And so praying God for your Lordships happy and long lyfe, this 7 of June, 1589. Edenbrowghe.

This day the Capteynes of the Vangard and Tygar hathe byn a borde and with the King, who takes it marveyllowse kyndly that they were apoynted to offer him service, and is not a lyttell prowde that he used them well; but the villanouse base pe[pists¹ and Spanyerds together mysused sum of the people, and slue a tromp^r tour; wheareupon the King

¹ Borthwick Castle.

was extreme angry, and willed me that a demaund shold be put in to the Cowncell for iustice, and it wold be graunted, for so he wold see it. Wheare upon I told the Ambaffador, who had made sum other requestes before the disorder of the bo . . . and how ever the matter goes, was lyttel regarding. At his request I became his secretery, and drew him ij requestes to present to the Kinge and Cowncell. It may be they will do more good then other wayes wold, for I haue convinced the King to see justice done, and the Inglishe m[en] well used, beinge the subiects, not only of his good Syfter and neyghbor prynces, but to accompt her his mother, maynteyner and upholder, protectour and defender, so, blessed by God, that the lyke of her for so many yeres cannot be red of in thes cowntry, and who hathe byn so miraculowfly preserved [agaynst] all devellyshe devyses of man, that he might . . . God wold preserve hir Maiestie to the end. He alowed of my speche excedinge well . . .

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Your Lordshipp hu[mble fervant]
at comawndment . . .
lyffe . . .

T. FOWLER.

Mr Archebald hathe wrytten hether spightfully agaynst the Master of Gray.

To the Right Honorable Lord Burleyghe,
the Lord Treforer of England
—sped ye vith them.

WILLIAM ASHEBY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

Of the Maister of Graye and the Lord Chancellors concurring in on good courfe, it is to be feared; for that there haith ben great enmytie in Court

¹ This article is extracted from Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, art. 186, fol. 377, under date 8 June, 1589. William Asheby was the English ambassador at Edinburgh.

heretofore betwixt them; and now the Chancellour hauing the onlie credit, he will hardlie suffer a competitour to creep into favour for
habet *virtus*, and the Master of Graies humour is not here
 [well] liked.

Your Honour will smyle at a pageant now bigon betwixt Mr Arch. Douglas and the Master of Gray, who, as I haue hard, femed to be great frendes to rune on course being in London together; they haue begone to deface on another by lettres, which [haue] ben shewed to the Kinge, who makes himself [merry] with it. The Master of Graye, a litle before
 into Scotland, writeth to his brother here, what an evill course and hurtfull to the [King] Mr Arch. Douglas foloweth; and wifheth he might be caulled whom, for that his being there [is] a hinderance to the King. This lettre was shewed to his Heighnes, and a report mad of it to Mr Arch. Douglas by some of his frends here. Mr Arch. replies, and points out the Master [of] Graye in his coullours: His lettre, in like manner, is shewed to the King, who laughes at this strange dealing, wherin thei shew what faithfulness is to be had at there hands: that shewing [to] the wourld a kind of frendship, and yet going about to cutt on anothers throts by evill reports. Theife men maie welbe vfed, but never trusted. Your Honour maie not [let it] be knowen that this cometh from me, till we shall se some of there refe[ntment], for I thinke thei will not here ceasse.

♦

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

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 so many appeirences of maiteris to fall furthe [that] I dyfferit from day to day to wryt in for sum certaintie, witche as yet haiftely I performe. Bot I have stayit for a day or Mr Hudfone, and til then [have] fend their [lines to] let your Lordship knou hou that upon

¹ From the original in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 372.

sume occasions thair fett furthe at my retourne, betuene the [Lord] Chancellor and Master of Glamife sume quarrell witche wes occasiound that no thing wes begun, as wes promised at the last convention by [his] Maieftie, tuitching the rebelles; for the Master of Glamis tuke a plaine deeling for th'Earle of Huntly, and the Chancellor, vnderhand, for Montrois: so that [between] the tuo all mifters ver neglected; witche [being] perceaved by sume honest men who hes medlit in this cause, they trauelit with bothe the and hes takin up the maiter betuene the Chancellor and the Master, so that yifternicht they haue promifit honest freindschip among them felfis, and to procure to joine in the courfe all [noble] men they can, for the fuppreffing the witche if this maiter be effectuull betuene them good, bot I am affrait. I wryt to your Lordship by Mr Hudfone, that the Master of Glamife is We his nepheu is to chofe his curatoris, and [of] neceffitie he wes compellit to ryd from to ftay for a tym; thairfor thocht it not good to leave behind him fo great ane ennemie at [Court as] the Chancellor. This is a point I knou to be for he hes ftayed theis eicht dayis bygone only [for] this purpose. Aluais th'effect will give licht I am requyrit my felf to enter in this fame [freind]fchipe, to the witche I accord moft willingly Th'Earle of Huntly is yet poffeft with my [living], and I as yet can have no redrefse, for I crave indifferent iuftice according to our laues, witche [1] can not have; for the King him felf in perfoun haith procured that the Seffioun should medle in no proceffe or actioun appertaining th'Earle of Huntly during his [lying] in ward. So that th'Earle is in better caice nor if he haid never bein traiterous, and better by committing then he wes fre: For this I of the Chancellor and the reft of honest men; and men who craveis me in fellouschip, that they find out the moyen how I may have iuftice for me, for I know my living dayly offerit I will fute Huntly for it.¹ In this caice [ftand] my maiters at this tym. So that ftraichtly I anfuer your Lordship, in

¹ 'The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was prouydit with the benefice of Domferme-ling, quhilk was tane fra the Mester of Gray laityly decourted, and geuen to him.'—*Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, 4to., p. 361.

your auin langage, whither I feing I have not yet begon

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to tak by the hand. I dar not wryt so plain as I would, and as I shall by
Mr Hudfone . . . knou your Lordship can not be informed of our
werie . . . for they be not knouin to many. Bot if your [Lordship
haue] not fume sufficient man fend hither, I do assur [your Lordship]
maiters for that estait can not go rytly; and if we had heir fume sensible
man, your Lordship fould see England fould find freindis; and nou I dare
affirme quhair ever thair is one favouring England about his Maiestie,
thair be ten Spainyardis: But Mr Hudfone shall informe your Lord-
ship, to whom I commit all othir thingis, faue to schaw your Lordship
[how] throu finistrous men the King thocht not the of me
for her Maiesties earnestt requyft: bot her I may kythe my self
and knou whom to em I hopp to redrefs all maiters to my
contentment. Mr Archibald Douglas, within theis eicht days [hes] wrot
a letter hither to a gentleman for to be schown to his Maiestie, contening
no other thing, fave [falsate] of me, and my deportment at my last being
in England, quhairin he tuitchis no les deiply her Maiestie and all your
Lords of Counfell then my self: Thairfor it haithe pleasit his Maiestie for
to [give] me the letter to fend to her Maiestie, to th'end [it may be]
sein quhat handsome ghaist sche enterteinethe. For my pairt, I proteft
the greatestt offence that.

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receaeue for doing the lyk, for a tryed say no more in this, for
pat your Lordship will confider of the maiter when as you shall [get his]
auin letter, witche I shall fend by Mr [Hudson], as the trouthe, particu-
lairly of many pro So I commit your Lordship to Godis holy
protection. From Edinburch, this 16 of Junij, 1589.

Your Lordships to do you [service],

MS of Gray

I forbear to wryt to her Maieftie as yet, not having full knowledg of all thingis, bot Mr Hudfone ſchalbe by his Maieftie deſpatchet the 20.

THOMAS FOWLER TO LORD BURGHLEY.¹

THE Maſter of Gray fyndes, as he thinks, hard dealing at the Kings hands; and thoughe the Chauncelour and he agree well in all ſhowe, as much as may be, yet I know (more then many) it is no perfect part with eyther. But it is fuer the Chauncelour will not go an inche farder then he fees the King lykes and will alowe; and the King is not to be won in this caice, as partly I have toched it allreddy to your Lordſhip: and, thoughe I prefume to wryt it, the Maſter ſayes and thinks I may doo him more good at the Kings hands, then eyther Chauncelour, or other in this land. And for his well ſpekynge and honorynge of hir Maieftie, my ſoverayne, I have done my beſt, even very lately, as before. But the King prayes me not to ſpeke for him, nor to deal in his matters, as I love him. I told him it was for his own ſake, not for the Maſter of Grayes, that I ſpoke, for I was fearfull that it ſhould be bruted, bothe here and in Ingland, that he wold be ſo parcyall as to ſtay juſtice, ſpecyally in the favour of ſo great an offendour. He ſtyll ſayes he does it for the [friendſhip] of a yonge lady his doughter, and beloved of his blud; and he truſtes that neyther hir Maieftie nor Councell will accompt the Maſter and alyke. Nay, he affuers himſelfe of it, and ſayes, ‘ If they love me, they will not, but [if] they knew him as well as I, they wold not. I will prove I do him no wronge.’ I cannot goo much farder in this poynt, becauſe he told me with ſo fayne and good words, and I muſt [mynd] my creddit, which is knowne to be ſome what more then ordinary. To conclude, I fee no haſty for the Maſter.

¹ Extracted from the original, dated 22d June 1589, in Cott. MSS. Calig. D. 1, fol. 374.

A SHORTE DISCOURSE, WHEREIN IS SET DOUNE THE VERIE TREUTH OF
THE KING OF SPAINE HIS DESIGNE AGAINST THIS HOLE ILE,
BY THE MASTER OF GRAYE, 1589.¹

THE vifer forte, and men best broken in affaires of all ages, and amonge all natiouns, hes ever accomtit man to be borne, not so much for himself as for his countrie, the veilfare and libertie whairof to his uttermost he is bounde to preas to conserue; as not only of Grecians and Romans, bot of all other nations, hes done frome the beginning infinite number of wise and valiant men, whom the luif of thair patrie movit to expon to all kinde of daunger, and losse thair substance, heritages, and thair owin propir lives; whairthrou not onlie men of noble blood ver crounit with perpetuall praise, bot many of baffe lineage ver nobilizit and acquirit immortall fame. Contrary vaies, such as haith bene instruments, aithir to troble or to betray thair country, of vhat blood or qualitie foeuer they have bene, or what occasion foeuer they could pretende so to doe, have purchasit perpetuall infamy and extreeme ruine, as testifies the registars of the lyves both of th'one and th'uther set downe in famous histories. By reason vhairof, considering the present estaite of this yle, and specially of this country of Scotland, as appeiris at this tyme devydit vithin it self; and knowing that divers noblemen and others, some intyfit by corruption, and some movit rather of ignorance and blynde zeale, nor of malice, haith bene, and are presentlie, indusit somvhat facilly, ayther to agrye altogether, or at least to comport vith alterations politickly intendit, partlie under the superficiall pretext of religion, and partlie under colour of revenge of the Queenes death.

For dischardge of my duty to his Maiestie my foveraigne, and to my country, having dieply rypit out, and by assurit intelligence tryit, the very treuth of the designe of the King of Spaine, the only mover of thes im-

Grecians.
Alcibiades,
Themistocles,
Epaminondas,
Thrasibulus.

Romans.
Camillus,
Horatius Cocles,
Scævola,
Fabritius.

Tit. Livius,
Appian Alex.
Plutarch.

Cause of writing
this discourse.

¹ LANSDOWNE MSS. Brit. Museum, No. 155, art. 165, fo. 409.

minent troubles, I have in this schorte subfequent difcourfe thocht meit fummarily to fett downe the fame, without any farther langage, or enrichement of exemples, bot only to fchaue the fimple veritie, for refolutioun of all that fchall reid or heare the fame. Not doubting bot the treuth and efficacie of the reafouns fchall fufficientlie move all indifferent and honeift men to doe thair deuty toward thair Prince and Patrie, for thereby it fchall evidentlie appeare, that the only occafion of this great Spanifh preparatioun is the conquest of this hole yle, let that King cover his defigne as fchall please him, with the pretendit cavfes, above specifiet, of Religioun and revenge. For although the holle inhabitants of this yle ver of the Romain religioun, yet yt is not likelie that he fhould chaunge his purpose of conquest, or effect thaym more nor he did the Catholicks of the Low Countreys and Portugall, to tham having fchawin no better favour than yf they had bene Proteftantes; following the exemple of his father, Emperor Charles the firft, who ves not greatlie movit with love of religioun, or great love to the Catholick church, in taking Pope Clement prifoner, for that he feimit rather to favour the King of France nor him, and in ufing the faid Pope noe better then if he had bene Martin Luther him felf; with many othyr examples that mycht be inducit to prove, that his progenitors and he hes, at all tymes and occafions, rather respectit thair awin commoditie, nor relligioun, and only politickly did ufe yt to ferve theyr turne. Likevife, yt hath noe great appearaunce that he makis theis great chardges and preparatiouns for revenge of the Queine of Scotlandes death, vhois libertie during her life tyme to procure he ves mervellous flou: which at that tyme haid bene farre leffe chardgeable nor is nov his prefent interpryfe, which, if he may accomplyfh as he intendis, vho ever vithin this yle is moft affectionat to his courfe fhall, without doubt, finde a Spaniard to be a very evill neibour, and a farre vorfe maifter. Yet I knoue fome thair be in this realme vho fyfhes beft in trovbled vatters, and are enemies to quietnes; bot by thair actiouns they are fo manifestit that I forbear to exprefse thair names. To theis I thinke this difcourfe fhall not be aggreable, bot I am affured be others yt fchall be veyle lykit of, becaufe, as a deutifull fubject to my Prince and veill affected to my Country, looking indifferently upon the eftaite prefent, I haue fett down

the fimple treuth, defiring the difcreet reader fo to thinke thereof vithout all partiallitie.

Thair is noe man fo ignorant bot may eafilie perceave the diffing of the Spainard to have bene, and to be, the overthrou generally of this yle, for th'avancement of his ouin eftaite, and confervatioun of his monarchie, as appeared cleerely in the laft yeares expedition; which, be the providence of God, had fuch event as ves fufficient to have divertit him from his unjuft interprife, if any admonitioun from God micht have terrifiet him, or movit him to confidder his deuty. Yit not only is he noe vayes terrifiet be the former admonitioun, bot it is nou notorioullie knawin, be dayly moft certaine intelligence, his ambition to be fo infatiable, and his diffing to be fo deiply groundit, that he is altogether myndit to profecut his former attemptat, be farre greater preparatiouns to that effect then of before.

Which is noe neu thing either in him or his predeceffors, as is evident by the hiftorie of his progenitor, Ferdinand of Aragon, hufband to Ifobella Queine of Caftill, vho, under pretext to help his tender coufin, Ferdinand King of Naples, againft Lewis the xij. King of France, being in armes for acquiring of the faid kingdome of Naples, as juft titular thairof, not only did not help his faid coufin Ferdinand, bot, be the contrarie, maide a privie league vith the faid Lewis, for equall perting of the kingdome of Naples betuein them; and deiply diffembling his intention, he fende the great capitain Gonfaluo, as it had bene to help his coufin, vho never utterit his injunctiouns, till the French armie ves very neere to Naples, vith vhome he joynit than, and expellit the faid Ferdinand, and his pofteritie, out of thair kingdome. And not contente of this divifioun, vhairby he obteynit the better parte of the kingdome, the King of France being paff the Alpes, and reteiring toward his auin country, he immediatly moves his lieutenant Gonfaluo to take quarrell vith the Duke of Nemours, lieutenant for the King of France, for a licht forgit caufe, vhair throu at laft be moving in expectat varre, he conquieft th'other half of the kingdome of Naples; and fo the holle came to his handes, and is poffeffit prefentlie be King Phillipp.

Fr. Guic. li. 5.
Paul Jovius.

Fr. Guic. li. 7.

The like ve finde of his grandfather, Phillipp Archduke of Austria, and

after King of Spaine, who of his ouin naturall ves nothing inferiour in ambitioun to the forenamed Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-law, whom he compellit violentlie to quyt the kingdome of Spaine, and with great danger of his estaite and person to vithdraw himself to Naples; a sufficient testimonie of his infatiable minde towardis other Princes dominiouns, in caiffe he had not bene prevented be untymous death. To whom succedit his soun Charles, the fift Emperour, and King of Spaine, whois actionns are foe repeat in mens memories, and sett down foe largelie be divers famous hystiographers, that yt ver superfluous to mentionat tham at all: for the league maide against him by the holle Princes and potentates of Italie, aftir his unjust conquest of the Duchy of Millaine, and other principauties, sufficientlie testifies hou fearefull his arrogance and ambitioun ves to the neybor Princes of his aige.

Fr. Guic. lib. 16.
Joan. Sleyd.

Nou have we to treat of King Phillipp, who in ambitioun farre surmountes his predeceffors; for, in his very tender aige, he ves not contente of the exorbitant conquest maide be his ancesters, bot, intending to adjoyne thairto the Realme of England, he married Marie, than Quein thairof, whom he inducit, schortlie efter the marriage, to tailie the Crowne unto him, and his airis whosoever, fayling ayris gotten betuen them selfis: and for obteyning his intente he did use Cardinall Poulet [Pole], both for inducer of his said Queine, and for mediator betuein him and the subjectis of the Realme, who, ymmediately upon knowledg of his ambitious minde, altogether, verie vifely, rejectit his sute. But his ambitioun and crueltie hes utterit the self, no less against some his ouin native subjects, chieffie in the Low Countryes, be ymprisonment, blood, and vrack, of infinit number of comon peple, and of divers noble men, who had bene at all tymes his cheife favorers, and most deutifull subjects, as ver the two brether, the Barons of Battenburg; who, efter long imprisonment, ver cruelly behedit be the Duke of Alva, his lieutenant. The like, or greater crueltie, he comytted against the Countes of Egmont and Horne, th'one being kinfman to the said King, who not longe before did overthrou, (having chardge of the King), the French armie at St Quintin, and made prifoner the Constable of France, then Lieutenant over the French armie: and both the Countes having accompanied him in all his voyages and interprifes,

Cron. Angl.

Tyrannie in the
Lou Countryes.

Guil. Guic. Hist.
Belg.

and of his ouin catholick religioun; yit, in recompence of thair good service, vere both beheadit at Bruxells, the vth of June, 1567.

Divers other intollerable cruelties ver comytted by his foresaid Lieutenant against the holle countrie and inhabitants, by raising on tham many extraordinary exactions, customes, impostis, excises, and subsidies; and vorst of all, intendit to haue preffit them be the Spanissh Inquisition, if thair constrainit revolt haid not rejectit his tirannical intention, which ves th'original of the holle troubles that hes continueit since. And of the great cruelties perpetratt in the rest of the tyme of Duk d'Alva his residens thair, in the tyme of Don Johan d'Austria, vherin intervenit the lamentable and most horrible faccagement of that famous cittie of Antwerp. And nou last, during the tyme of the government of the Duke of Parma, vherin hes fallin the ruyn of many riche, populous, and famous provinces, citties and tounes, as not only the histories declaires, bot men daylie fees with thair eies.

And nou his late conqueist in Portugall, vether iust or unjust, I remytt to the judgment of the vyser and more learned forte. Bot I cannot omytte hou unnaturallie his ambitioune transported him to hunt for that kingdom; for, when his nepheu Sebastian, King of Portugall, vas futed be the King of Mauritania to assist him in recoverie of his kingdome from his brother, unjust usurpar thairof, he vould not yeild to his fuite, unto the tyme he focht to that effect th'advise and ayde of his uncle King Phillipp; who not only promissit him sufficient help of men and veschels, but earnestly poufed him to prosecute that interprise: In hope vhairof, Sebastian the King did prepar his armie to passe the Straitis, looking daylie for performance of his Uncles promes, who not only dissappointit him at the prefixt tyme, in not sending him secours, bot, undir paine of death, inhibited all his subjects to accompanie his said nephewe in that journey. So that the yonge Prince vith his armie passit the sea, and vith him Mulei Mahomet, th'expellit King of Mauritania, and encounterit vith ther adverfarie, Mulei Malak, the usurper King, vhear, after a longe and fore conflict, all the thrie kinges died; and upon the said Mulei Malak ver letters founde, fende from King Phillipp, schauing he vould not assiste his nepheu against him; a verie evident signe of his desire to obtaine that kingdome, knauing that

Hist. Lusit.

King Phillipp his letters against his ovin Nepheu.

his nepheu being cut of, thair ves no man of sufficient power to pretend any iust title thair to him, except one man, aigit of 82 yeares, a Cardinall named Henrie of Portugall, uncle both to King Phillipp, and to the laite King Sebastian, vho schortlie died. And then King Phillipp, throu a procured faction of th'Eftaites of that countrie, partly by corruption, and partly by faire promises, vithout any great difficulty, obteynit his former intent, and ves receaved King. Bot I cannot pafs vith silence the recompence vhearvith his favorers and affilters ver gratifiet; for, efter his peaceable receptioun in that kingdom, thay presentit thair supplicatioun, craving, in recompence of thair good service, accomplishment of his promises; vhairon they produced the handvret of his ambaffadors, vchich he comandit them to present vith thair supplicatioun before the Colledg of his Judges in Lefbona; and that being done, the Judges gave this decreit following:—

Hist. Anton.

The decreit vherby ver recompensit the King of Spaine his favorers in Portugall.

“ King Phillipp being iust heritor of the kingdom of Portugal, yt ves not lefom to the complenars to sell the same for giftis or promises, bot rather for that they offered yt not voluntarilie to the said King, they had incurred the penaltie of thair heades; and if the same haid appertaint to Don Antonio, they could not sell the same to the King of Spaine; vhearfor the King is noe vais obligit to the promises made unto the complenars be his Embaffadors; but, using his benignitie and clemencie, he absolves them from the former penaltie, vherof throu that cause they maid themselves guiltie.” A verie notable example for all men, bot chieflie them of this yle, vho, throu faire promises or trifling guiftes, are abusit in any forte to betraie the libertie of thair countrie, and speciallie to the King of Spaine. Let thairfore th'indifferent reader consider in vhat strait this yle, and the holle inhabitants thairof, as veil they who are his favorers as others, shalbe, in case he schall attein to the conquest thairof, in respect vhat extreamitie, rigor, and tyrannie he hes not only usit against such as he haith conquest, bot evin against his ouin natie subjects and countries, vho all haue taistit, as veil Papiſts as Protestants, hou intolerable a maister the Spaniard is.

Bot because many of our countrymen are allured, pertly be corruption, pertlie be blinde zeale, to beleeve his enterprife to be iust, seeing he culors

the same to his favorers in Scotland with revenge of the Quein, the King his Mothers death in England, with revenge of injuries receivet and in both the realmes, with the restitution of the Roman religioun, the discourse following schall cleerely prove them to be only pretextuall causes, and the verie effectuall cause to be the conquest of this holle yle, for conservacion of his ovin estate and monarchie, which dependis chieflie and onlie in the preservacioun of the commoditie he reteiris from the Yndis, which, of the self, is evident. For no man th'estait of the King of Spaine doth knaue, but likvais knaveth, that in all the dominions he hes in Europe, the chairges of thair intertainment farre to exceed the profit. As to discend in particular, the profit that he dois reape of the Lou Countries is verie smalle, th'one half contyneuing in rebellion, and likelie to doe, th'other half, presently possesseit be him, so far exhaustit, throv the continuall varrs, that in no vays of yt self is yt able to finde sufficient nouritour to the feu nomber nov inhabiting yt, albeit a great pairt of the principalls, both of the country and tounes, abandonet thair duellingis, some for extreme povertie, other for escheuing tyrannie, and hes reteirit themselfis to Holland, Zealand, and divers forraine countries. So that, as I have hard some of them selfis affirme, the yearlie interteinement of thois varres exceedeth the prouffit above two millions of gould, which he is not able to drawe from all his other dominions in Europe.

His commoditie
from Yndis.

The Lou
Countries.

Bourgoinge being verie small prouffit to him, and all imployed in intertainment of the country men. The revenue of Naples and Cecill dois scairfly keip the countreys in subjection, partlie bestouet upon the garrifouns, and partlie gevin out to the Barons of the countrie. The same is to be said of the Duchie of Millaine, vhear he interteynis great garrifouns, lik as he dois in all his dominions in Italie. Beside this, he hes to provide from his coffers for the intertainment of his galleyes in Naples, Cecill, and the rest in Italie.

Bourgoinge.

Naples,
Cecill.

Millaine.

In Portugal he is forced to hold above theire heades a great armie, beside the interteyneidos or pensioners, which amountes to a farre greater sounge then the yearely deuty of this country yt self. As for the dominions in Spaine, all men knoveth the revenewe of them not to be great, and with difficultie could he or his predeceffors ever haue any great

Portugal.

Navarr,
Granada,
Aragon.

thing by extraordinarie impost, and yit is he constrainit dayly to keepe in all frontier quarters of yt great garrifouns both for sea and land, having on the one side the King of Navarre, and on th'other the Moores of Barbarie, pretending for Granada, and Aragon daylie readie to revolt for th'auncient despyt they haue at the name of Castillan.

Barbaria.

In Barbaria, vhear he hath noe commoditie, for his ouin suretie he is constrainit to bestoue infinit chairdges. Beside all this, yt is an exorbitant money he bestoueth in France, Germanie, and all the pairtes of Europe, for intifeing men to serue his towrne. So that of necessite, yt is to be grauntit the moyen, whervith all theis great matters are performed, to proceid allmost hollely from the Yndis, never one of his possesiouns in Europe being able to diffraie the self; and thairfore, consequentlie, the conservatioun of his estaite and monarchie to depend upon the preservacoun of his commodities from the Yndis.

He must be master
of the seas to pre-
serve his commodi-
tie from the Yndis.
Sir Francis Drake
his first exploit.

Bot this his commoditie cannot be preservit, onles he be perpetually maister of the seas, which cannot be denyit, seeing, ever since the first exploit of Sir Francis Drake, who had onlie in companie three schippes or foure, with the which he reft the King of Spaine his holle flotte, the said King hes bein constrainit to bestowe the one half for fastie of th'other. And yit, if the sea forces of England, Holland, and Zeeland had not otherwise bene occupied, he coule not haue maide forces sufficient to haue defendit yearlie his flotte, against th'armie navale of thois three countreys. Lyk as, yit he is not able to doe, if ther other impeschments ver removit, which is not altogether impossible be fundrie accidents, for albeyt be assistance of other potent Princes, efter long preparatioun, he is able to furnish such an armie as ves sein this last yeare, for one exploit in sevin or eight yeares; yit yt is easie to any who knoveth th'estait of Spaine, to confidder him not to be able to maintaine the same yearlie, in respect vhairof he justly accountes for preservacioun of his commoditie from the Yndis, he must be perpetually maister of the sea. To the which he is never able to attein, onles he have on this fyde of Europe, in Germanick sea, some commodious and capable portes for building and preparatioun of great and other veschells necessarie for that effect: seeing in all the costes of his dominiouns, either on the great ocean, or yit on the Mediterran Yberick sea,

He must have cap-
able portes in the
Germanick sea.

he hes scarce vood sufficient to build one schippe. In the Germanick sea, he can pretende for noe other capable portes except them of his ouin countryes, Holland and Zeland, presentlie in revolt from him, for avoyding tyrannie (as faid is), whom also he is never able to drawe fully to his obedience, and to make to serve his tourne without he be assurit of England; because, being destitute of all secours from other Princes, efter the death of the Duke of Alançon, they maid offer of themselves and thair service to the Quein of England, and, amongst other conditiones, ingagit for their fidelitie their cheif strenthis; which she acceptit, and yet keeps them in her handes, and received thois countryes in her ouin protection. So, that nou yt is not possible for them to revolt, although they vould; yea, albeyt they might revolt, thair sea forces should be altogether inutile for the King of Spaine, be reason of the Straites, vhair his forces being the farre stronger, lyeis betuein him and them, and ever schall impeasche thair joyning. And on th'other pairte, to drawe England from Holland and Zeland, he findeth greater difficultie yet, being from the beginning a pairt of the suretie of thair ouin estaite, which thay confidderit not so veale of before, as at this tyme. Neither ver they tyed to suche necessitie, for in King Charles the 9th his tyme of Fraunce, thair ves a treatie betuein the said King, the Quein of England, the Princes of Germanie, and th'eistates of the Lou Countries; where, be all these Princes yt ves founde the King of Spaine to be a verie dangerous neybour, in respect of his greatnes, and thairfore, upon the offer of th'eistaites to thair subjection, it ves thought meit, rather be a concurrence of Princes then any one of them, that th'offer should be acceptit, and so concludit that the King of France should have seafit with Flanders, Arthois, and Henault; the Princes of Germanie with Brabant, and the countries adjacent, and for them the Prince of Aurange schould have bein deputed Governor; and the Quein of England, with Holland and Zealand. Which treatie effectuat not, for that sche vould not that tyme enter in offence against the King of Spaine, albeyt yt ves concludit to be the suretie of her estaite, like as sche hath founde since, and in convenient tyme did remead her former error; for if this last year thois countries haid not bene at her devotion, and her forces in thair cheif portes, yt may be easilie conjectured in what danger

He must be assurit of England.

A pairte of the suretie of th'estaite of Eng. the protection of Holland and Zealand.

Queen of England loth to irritat the King of Spain.

1588—The dissipation of the Spanish armie, the laik of a commodious receptioun.

The alteration of the present estait of England.
England and Spaine irreconciliable.

Difficulties in the alteration of the present estaite of England.

Difficulties in the person of the Queen of Scots.

her estaite schould have fallen by the Spanish armie, which being greater then th'English, ves not only dissipated for the vant of a commodious receptioun: which tyeth her strictlie to retein Holland and Zeland as a pairt of her suretie, vhairof yt necessarily folloveth, to have Holland and Zeland serving for the King of Spaine his use, he must be affurit of England, because he cannot have th'one vith out th'other: A matter altogether impossible, except the present estait thereof be alterit, both for the diversitie in the religioun, and for th'inimitie which hes alreadie taken so deip roote on his pairt, for the great injuries he alledges him to have recevit of England; and on the pairt of the present estaite of England, for th'open revenge evidentlie intendit for the vrack and overthrou thairof: so that all hope of reconciliatioun is cuttit away, and th'one must subdue th'other, which plainly declaris the King of Spaine can noe vayes be assured of England, vithout th'estaite thairof be chainged. And albeyt th'estaite thairof ver changit, and put in the handes of any the just titulars of that Croune, he findeth himself in as great difficultie as of before: for the King of Scotland being the first, he sees in him the same impediment is both in religioun, and other vayes, which is in the present estaite. Like as he seis in all th'others pretending richt of succeffion to that Croun, vherat noe man schould mervell, seeing he could never finde a competencie in the persoun of the Quein of Scotland, sche being of his ouin Catholick Roman religion; for yt ves proponit during her being in England, that to be affurit of th'estaite in England, yt ves sufficient suretie for the King of Spaine to affist her to atteyne to that kingdom; yit he, weying her efter his ovin humor, knowing her to be a vyse princeffe, esteimit sche would respect her ovin advantage more nor his suretie, and preferre *utile honesto*: and thairfore he thought be her preferment he ves no vayis affurit of the estaite of England, which, vithout doubt, ves the cause that stayit him so long from attempting against England, for feare to put her in good caire. For remead vhairof her freinds in France, vith concurrence of some of her ouin subjects thair, devisit an apparent contentment, and proponit a duple marriage betuein herself and the King of Spaine, his Maiefty her sonne and the said King of Spaine his second daughter; which noe vayis contented the King of Spaine, for

he allegit yt ves some shadou of furetie for himselfe, but not for his founne or successors, feing the King of Scotland being a Protestaunt prince, ves to succeid his Mother; and to obviat that, her frendes thought convenient that the King her founne should be sende in Spaine to be brocht upp in the Catholick religioun. Bot their matters drew to such lenth, be flow deliberacioun of her freindes in France, and doutfome expectatioun of the King of Spaine, that, in the mid tyme, sche unhappilie died. Since which tyme the King of Spaine yit adviced and founde yt meiter for his veil, be reason of his aige, to be yit affured of England, then to intend the conquest of yt; in respect the matter cannot bot fall in great lenth, and being deceffit in his olde aige, his death may cast his holle dominions louse, chieflie his most assured subjects being imployit in so long-some a varre; and thairfore, did once againe deliberat to fie if he could be affured of England, the King of Scotland yit being in possessioun of yt; bot in th'ende fand no more certainties that vaie, nor he did finde at his first advisement, when the Quein of Scotland ves yit living. And thairfore he concludit that a necessitie for his ovn furetie constrainit him to the conquest of England. Vhairupon resultit a greater difficultie, for he fand yt a verie hard matter, and almost impossible, to conquieft England, vithout assistance of Scotland; first, be reason England is so veile fortified on the holle sea costes, that his armie dare not hazard to discend on yt; nixt, be reason of the amitie and league standing betuein the two Princes and countries, vhairby th'one is bound to assist th'other. So that he, not being assurit of Scotland, must be inforced to provyd als great armie almost for yt as for England,—a matter very difficill and impossible, feing vhat tyme and chairdges he hes consumed for the preparatioun of one, and that his aige and sicknes permitts no protraction of tym. And thairfore the remead of this difficultie he fand, that it ves to seik Scotland, either in alluring the King himself, or then, according to this accustomat procedor, be corruption, or faire promises, to allure a faction to his effect, of the subjects vithin the same.

If he should have fought the King, he behoveth to deale vith him, either simplie, conditionallie, or politicklie. Simplie, he could not deale, because he fand yt altogether repugnant to his dissiinge of the conquest of Eng-

Conquest of England be a necessity.

No conquessing of England vithout concurrence of Scotland.

Thrie vays to seik the King of Scotland.

land, (as said is), seeing the King of Scotland is just titular to the successioun of the Croune thair of. It was adviced, thairfore, to sute the King conditionallie, in offering him assistance in revenge of his Mothers death, and all landes and possesiouns which ever apperteinit to any King of Scotland, nor annixit to the Croune of Englande. But thairin he was resolvit be some Scottis man, the matter to touch the King of Scotland, so farre in princelie honor, that he could not accept of yt; and soe yt was thought expedient it should not be proponit. As lykevays he found yt was not his fuertie, being just titular to the holle; which made the King of Spaine resolve to sute the King of Scotland only politickly, and to let him know nothing of the treuth, but only his pretextuall causes, and making him beleif that his intention was only revenge of the Queins death, and of his owne particuler griefes.

In this politick deliberation the King of Spain contineuit a long tyme, efter the death of the Quein, hoping that matters should not have been packed up betwene the Quein of England and the King of Scotland. But how soon her Embassadors were receivd in Scotland, he found that policie could no longer serve him, and thairfore concluded the King was no longer to be sought, but the subjects to be steir'd up to a factioun, yit not all, but such as were suspect in religioun, and malecontent of the estate. And to that effect, they were sent into Scotland divers Jesuits, who first superficially brake the matter; next, Robert Bruce and one Captain Foster were sent, with some quantitie of gold, to distribute be the advice of the Jesuits. Yit finding little effect, the gold was not distributed be them unto the tyme the Bishopp of Dunblaine came into Scotland, who had bene 4 or 5 monethes in Paris, awaiting for advertisement. Efter him were sent Colonel Simple, who, having full power of the Duke of Parma be the Bishopp his advice, caus'd Robert Bruce to corrupt with the gold fundry noblemen and gentillmen, and mov'd them to the last yeares attemptats, chiefly to the insurrection in the North, which, through feiblenes of the principalls, took such effect, as did their Spanish armie. The dissipation wherof having animat the Spaniard to the extreme prosecution of his intended diffing, makes him no less diligent, be the seditious Jesuits and others his factious agents, to procure within this realme

The indutifull subjects of Scotland steir'd up be the King of Spaine. Jesuits beginners of all sedition.

The King of Spain his agents also busie this year as the last.

at this tyme a corrupted number of noblemen and others then of before: yea, and thairto he is more bent, being acquaintit hov necessarie th'aide of such a faction in Scotland shall be for obtayning his intente, havand by experience founde that the favour of Scotland might have bene sufficient safetie to his holle navie, disperfit by a blaste of contrarie vinde send doune from God; whom he knavis to be als mightie this year as the last, which pouffis him now the more earnestlie to offer to the factionars villinglie, all kinde of secours that the last yeare be them ves craivit, and not obteynit, as veile of men as of money, vhairof alreadie a pairt they have recevyt, and farther is promisit to their contentement; as in like manner secours of men in caice neide beis, providing they first schall frankelie goe fordvert to satisfie his expectation, which they have promisit. And vhat conventiouns, vhat privie meittings, vhat quyit traffick, is amongst themselfis, and vhat daylie persuasions are used to seduce others not yit of thair opinion, is so notorious throvout Scotland, that I desist in any forte to fasche the reader in perticularizing the same. So that be this Discours, all men may evidentlie sie the only diffigne of the King of Spaine for conservation of his monarchie and estaite, to be the conquest of England, and consequentlie of Scotland, as plainly appeiris be his not dealing with his Maiesties self, nor craving his ovin benevolence and concurrence, bot steiring up a forte of his Maiesties factious subjects to serve for the tyme his intent; which I dout not, if he ver in Scotland, he should substantiouflie obviat, as his paynes, valor, and diligence this last yeare may easilie move all men to thinke. And thairfore, yt is meitest, in his absence, that all his deutifull subjects should to thair abilities concurre amongst themselfis, and vith th'estaite of England, according to the vill and inclinacion which they have sein in his Maiesty, for defence of the libertie of th'Ylle, in respect of his interest to the holle, and in respect that noe honest Scottishman can think bot it is better to have an Englishman neybour then a Spaniard maister.

Conclusion.

Duty of the subjects of Scotland in the Kings absence.

Nou, for the better ease and information of the reader, I have sett doun brieflie the somme of the holle Discours in this epilogue following.

1. The Spaniard attempts against England for the conservation of his ouin estaite and monarchie.

2. The conservation of his estate and monarchie depends upon the preservation of the commodities he doeth retire from the Yndis.

3. The preservation of the commodity he doeth retire from the Yndis, consistis in that he be perpetuallie maister of the seas.

4. That he be maister perpetuallie of the seas, yt is necessarie that he have fully subjection of Holland and Zeland, his ouin naturall countryes

5. To have fullie subjection of Holland and Zeland, yt is requisite he be assured of England.

6. To be assured of England, th'estait of it must be changit.

7. Th'estait of yt being changit, and yt to fall in the handes of his Maiestie of Scotland, or any having just interest, he shall be in no better caise, and finde noe further fuertie, then be the presente estate: thairfore, his fuertie craivis the conquest of yt.

8. The conquest of England, without th'aide and concurrence of Scotland, it is difficill and almost impossible, so he findes Scotland is to be fought.

9. To feik Scotland, yt must either be in the person of the King, or then be steering upp a faction of seditious subjects to favour his course.

10. To feik Scotland in the person of the King, yt must be either simplie, conditionally, or politickly.

11. Simplie he cannot feik the King, because yt repugnis to his disfigure.

12. Conditionally to feik the King of Scotland, his princely honor permitts not on his part that he schall accept of any condition; and on the King of Spaine his part, his fuertie permitts not to have the King of Scotland, being just successor, to be his neighbour.

13. To feik the King of Scotland politicklie, he findeth he cannot, be reason of his good will and affection towardis the Quein, and presente estate of England: and soe concludeth, noe wayes the King bot the subjects of Scotland to be fought, lyk as presentlie he doeth.

Be this his Maiestie may he formally concludit the Spaniards disfigure, alwayes groundit for his ruyn, and his veyle and standing repugnant to the King of Spaine his disfigure. Thairfor, himself haith to consider of his ouin estate and suretie; and his subjects, in his absence, to doe that which villinglie he would performe, in caise he ver presente himself. 26 Feb.

1590

KING JAMES VI TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

TRUSTY AND WEILBELOUIT COUNSALLOUR, We greit yow hairtlie weill: Being resolwit to pas in propir perfone toward þe north partis of our realme, at þe tyme prescryuit, ffor prosequitoun of þe papist Erllis and vpairis trublaris of þe quiet esteat of þe cuntrey, according to our last proclamatioun direct pairanent, necessar it is, That befoir our taking iornay sum resolutioun off our Esteatis be had quhat preparatioun is requisit pair-to; quhilk hes mowit ws, ryght effecteuillie, to desyr yow to meit ws at Edinburgh vpon þe xxvj of Apryll instant, ffor your gud adwyis and opinioun to be gewin anent fik preparatioun as ar neidfull for our said iornay, as ye will kyth your zeall and dewtifull affectioun toward þe furtherance of þe godlie and honest actioun, and will do ws speciall gud plefour and seruice. Sa, lippinning assuredlie for your preceis keiping of þe dyet, We commit yow to God. Frome Stirling, þe xvj of Apryll, 1594.



To our trusty and weilbelouit
Counfallour, the Master of Gray.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO MR JOHN LINDSAY, OF BALCARRAS.²

MY LORD, I haue send vith this all I promist, and fume forther. Receaue the Affociatioun, the ordre of the Quene her accusatioun, the vrytis found;

In nombre sex,
subscryuit be
the Counsell of
England.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

² From the original among the Balcarras Papers, vol. vi., in the Advocates Library. A fac-simile of this letter is given as a frontispiece to this work.

befyd this, to let you knou hou maiters past, I haue send you a lettre of the Quene, vrottin to his Maieftie her sone; Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King; the articles he craueit in her name. Sindrie other thingis I haue, quhilks villingly I would let you fee, bot in my abfence it ver hard to commit them to the receptioun of any my feruantis. As for thir, it vill please your Lordship copie them, and ether send them, or delyuer them to my vyf in my abfence: I would haue bein loth to haue fend some of theis to many vithin Scotland.

I vill requyft your Lordship caufe fend me a copie of your Discours DE JURE ANGLICANO, quhilk I fau in Falkland.

My Father is fommonit to be in Linlythco the 22, befor the Counfell. His inhabilitie to all men is knouin; as for the maiter, he refufit not, bot the ordour ves not formell, nether haid the officer any chairdge, nor fufficient miffiue, as your Lordship vill fee. Therfor, I pray your Lordship hould hand that he be not further troublit then the receauing of the pledge, quhilk he will do villingly, he being presentit according to the Act of Parliament. I recommend it then to your Lordships patrocinie.

Receaeue a lettre of the King of France, an vther of the Duke of Guife to the King, only for the formes. I forgot, vhen I directit my feruant to Edinburch, to tak the key of my cabinet, quhilk is the caufe I fend not the buk of Styllis, bot it fhalbe vith you in Lythcoe, or fchortly efter. To quhilk and ever I commit your Lordship to Godis holy protection. Dundie, this 15 Sept. 1596.

Your Lordships louing freind to commaund,



To his honored freind,
My Lord Secretairie to
His Maieftie.

It vill please your Lordship to remember, that the Lordis of Inchmartin and Kinnard receaue no rigour.

Receaue 15 pieces to be copeit, and delyuerit to my Vyf.

Inuentour of vrytis delyuerit to the Secretaire, 15 Sept. 1596.

A copie of ane lettre of the Quene of Scotland to her Sone.

Fontainie her agentis lettre to the King.

Fontainie his Articles in the Quene her name to his Maiestie.

Copie of the Englisch Affociatioun.

The causes of condemnatioun of the Gentlemen arreynit.

The names of the Assyse.

Reafouns for the Quene of Scotland.

Reafouns contrarie.

The forme of proceeding agenst her.

Sex letteres subscryuit be the Counsell of England.

In nombre 15.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, What I haue written to you, in þe inclosed, I desire shold be treuly seen to þe King; for I am resolued to come no nearer, then by my demonstratiue courses in my services without infinuation in particuler, or acompting (by apology) further then to þe conscience of an honest fervant to my deereft Soveraine, and a good patriot to my Contry; which resolution, (with þe vieu of my actions,) shall cleare me to the world temporall, and save me at þe day of Judgment, where I shall dare to pleade þat in my foule there neuer entred base or malicious practife against him; whose hart I presume (being guyded by God, who is þe ruler of Princes,) will

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. It bears neither address nor date, although it evidently appears to have been written towards the end of autumn 1600.

be as soon satisfied by his divine influence, as by any vulgar or subordinate addresses or flatteries of mine. To you, I yield thanks for your good will, and because I would have you return me such an answer as may still satisfy my Mistress, that you did but propound it *de bene esse*, (and with desire that the Queens mynd should approve it, for whose service you wished it especially,) let your answer reply in that stile; saying, that I need not dislike you, (nor the Queen dislike your counsels in it). But I pray you, Sir, let the King, in any case, see my letter, and in your letter return his true answer, for I will shew it to the Queen what ever it be.

For the Duke of Nevers, he is gone back, and shewed here no purpose to go further northward, for which the Queen took his visitation the more gratefull, and I dare say of that she kept no counsaile to him self. For your sake, be sure I will have no idle thoughts in that business; but I can not yet answer you directly, for, as much lies in the forme as the matter, and I may peradventure better carve you out a peece of work then your cousin Grey can, for land is land, and lease is land in valuation: but of this I can write no more certainty yet, then of mine owne desires; vpon your next dispatch I shall be readyer. In the meane tyme, what Hamilton brings I know not; but I do love the man, and have no purpose to do otherwise. For the Duke, what he sends I know not, but sure I am, my pen shall reply to none in Scotland (if not by order) but your self, (I meane persons of rank and place). Sir, I assure you, the noble man is very worthy, and I do wish the King had more such well tempered subjects. For the Kings owne addresses hither, or dayly dispatches from hence, I can not read the riddle; but I think surely as you do, they are all but visions of idolls, offered and multiplied to him by such as desire thanks. For the other 2, that still misleade him from believing iustly of me, they are wise, and were to blame, if they should not maintaine their owne former principles, *sed jacta est alea*; onely I am sorry to see by you, that all is fish that comes to nett, and that it is so easy for men about a Prince to make him value poor silly fellows for men of use, because they are painted to him to be men that have place or credit here (as you say) with the Queen or her Counsaile, a matter not strange to me. If that be true which you do write, that the King thinks Ladies can do him also such pleasure, surely I can hardly

think it to be treu that þe Lady you write of doth or can write to him. Think not þat her Father knowes it, for, God knowes, he wold treade her vnder his feet, rather then therby to adventure his fortune for þe present, thogh, in my foule, otherwise he dreames of no practife. Let me knou, therefore, Sir, treuly, what is treu, and I will take it for a courtesy, and vse it like a gentleman. When your Son comes I will dō þat which you shall think fitt for me to you, who shall ever find me,

Your affured frend,

Ro. CECYLL.

PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY TO CARDINAL BORGHESE.¹

IN Scotiâ, tumultuosè omnia fatis apparent; et ministri Calviniani fatis adhuc et possunt et præfunt. Rex, ut potest, non pro religione, sed pro læfâ suâ majestate, et autoritate, in contrarium aliquo modo nititur. Quæ, pro Rege, Romæ acta erant, elapsâ hyeme, Reginæ Angliæ non minus sunt nota quam ipsis actoribus, inscitiâ fortè negotiantium. Itaque, non video quod quæ Regis nomine afferabantur, præstari possint; neque quod vera sint, præcipuè de ipsius religione. *James*, verè cum Catholicis favere puto, cum nihil contra suam ipsius voluntatem adhuc moliti sunt.

Comes Gourius cum fratre, præfente ipso Rege, trucidati sunt: At, de eâ re, quod adhuc nihil comparuit, incertè relinquo. Quæ mihi scripsit quidam aulicus, hic accipe; et, pro interprete, utere Jacobo Scaveo, Scoto.

¹ From the Sloane MSS. in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 114, where it is thus marked: 'The Master of Gray to Cardinal Borghese, from London, 12 Cal. Novemb. 1630, sent to the Nuncio at Brussels.' The date 1630 is evidently a mistake, as the letter must have been written shortly after the slaughter of the Earl of Gowry, which happened in August 1600.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, I haue now receaued your lettre of the 16th, written before a short lettre of mine to Raph Grey, bearing date þe 16th, came to yowr hands, wherby yow may perceauē my silence greu not owt of any loofe regard of those things which yow haue recomended, (either concerning your self or others;) for it is treu, þat hither came such a multiplicity of reports, by some of your owne nation, some þat you were fledd into France, others þat yow had ben in a privat combatt flaine, as I was full of anxiety, and desirous to know where my lettre shold find yow. But, Sir, I pray yow now receaue herewith þe treuth of all þe proceedings in this vn lucky matter which hath ben recomended hyther to þe Queen. Firft, I must needs tell yow, that þe Queen still brandleth in her mind, owt of an irremouable jeloufy, þat howsoever the futes concerning the brethern and sifters of Gowry haue ben sent hyther vnder a vaile of secresy, that þe King him self is not ignorant of it; but rather, þat he letts it runn on by others, to discouer whyther any of þe former malicious imputations vppon þe Queen in þat matter, (becaue his fact succeeded his passadg by this Court,) might be discouered by any extraordinary succeeding fauour from hence, especially to those with whom she neuer held any correspondency; wherein, as God (þe Father of Heauen) knoweth, how farr she was from any thought or act of participation, so I must plainly say to yow, (for she speakes it evry day,) þat þe carriadg of the bufines hyther hath ben so contrary to þe reservednes desired there, as it hath much stuck in her Maiesties mynd; and so much þe rather becaue the subject of þe request was to comend a Lady, a person of honour, of note and quality, to serve her; which her Maiesty still repeateth to be a matter so well knowen vnto you, to be farr from her mind to grant, as you cold haue made þe answer before the question. This, Sir, is the substance of all þat I cold draw from a mynd

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter appears to have been written in 1601.

refolued to suspect all things þat come *ab Aquilone*, and treu it is, þat I dyd neuer hold it but as an vnfortunate fwte; for first, myne owne Soverain, who hath judgment to discern þat to please þe Queen there is not to be farther of another day from þe Kings favour, wold easly suspect þat whatsoever I dyd, (more then belongs meerly to my place, which is to receaue and retourn lettres,) in furthering any desires from thence, cold hardly be severed from some creeping desire in me to become gracious to the future. Next, for þe Queen þat is there, who knowes me not but by heare say, she, finding no better successes, may be apt to suspect þat I haue not dealt as I shold do; in which confyderation I was willing to lett þe othre lettre to my Lady Warwick go on, both because the Queen might be moved by some other as well as my self, (and indeed, þe matter and person confydered, fitlier serving her sex then another;) next, I knew it wold make þe Queen þe more assured þat all hope was not only in me but in others: all which notwithstanding, her Maiesty hath retourned plainly a negative in þat matter, both to her and me, and hath desired also to be excused in this matter without ill interpretation. This answer was made some 6 dayes since, and on the neck of it I haue receaued your last dispatch, in which two lettres were inclosed, which, till this day, I cold not deliuer, for I haue ben sick this good whyle, thogh now come well to Court, which greu lately by a relapse after a late keping in vppon a great cold. To this, Sir, being of another forme, directed to the Queen her self, I can make no present answer; for, first, the lettres are neuly deliuered; next, her Maiesty will answer this with her owne hand; and yet because I wold not, in desire to advertise all advertise nothing, I think good to impart vnto yow thus much by this present. Th'agent Nycolson advertised hyther þat Scotland ronge of fauours don to th'Erl Gourys sifter; some that I had intelligence with her vnderhand, by þe Queens direction; others þat the Queen maintained her. And of this subiect I know not almost who spake not, wheruppon the Queen willed þe Agent there to advertise the King, þat treu it was she had ben in London, and some Ladyes about her, (because she was a Lady,) pitied her, but she had neuer giuen her access, nor wold meddle with those þat were, (by his protestation so much disagreeable to him;) and this loose tale was all þat Nycolson had in chardge, with which the King, as it seemed, was well satisfied. And thus, hauing

now related all I know, it remains þat I add this, þat I muſt chaleng of yow, (whoſe deſtiny hath ben to bring me into this rugged path,) firſt, to make my caſe your owne, and then to remember þat which yowr owne ſelf wrote, þat ſervants to great Princes muſt make no vowes, and therfore other mens good wills muſt not be cenſured by [ill] ſucceſſes. Next, þat as your ſelf do find in your mind an inward afection (beſyds loialty) to þe vertewes and comandments of þat Princeſs, ſo yow will imagine of me, (whoſe obligation is more infinite then any can be to his Soverain, becauſe I am þe creature of her hands,) þat in whatſoever I may not haſard þe grieving of her mind, (which it wold be if ſhe thoght I had a thoght beyond her,) I will alwaies be ready to do þat Queen ſervice; not becauſe ſhe is Queen of Scotts, and ſo yow may think I hold my ſelf in pollicy tied to ingratiat myſelf, but becauſe ſhe is a noble Princeſs, full of honour and conſtancy, and hath truſted me: with which I now muſt end this lettre, and ever reſt honeſtly,

*Your afection
made from
R. Cecyll*

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

SIR, I haue answered moſt of þe contents of your 3 lettres in this other lardg diſcourſe, and haue alſo let yow know what we do in theſe ſouthern

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. The ſignature to this letter is croſſed by ſeveral ſtrokes of the pen. The 'lardg diſcourſe' alluded to is apparently the following letter, in another hand, though in ſome parts bearing Cecyll's own corrections. The date, 1602, is marked on the back; and from the reference which is made to certain events, it has undoubtedly been written early in that year.

parts of þe world. It remaineth now þat I do shortly let yow knou in this lettre þat there is not an vntreu word in þat to my knoledg; and next, þat for my offer, (rather to be yowr pledg for þe maintenance of your Sonn¹ abroad, till your owne meanes better served you,) then to driue you for such a tryfle to resort to her Maiesty, (my state neuer so ill forting with my affections as to be to seek for such a courtesy to a gentleman of qwality, and my freend, as I hold you to be,) you shall vnderstand þat if yow let me know whyther yow will haue his payments assigned either to Roan or to Paris, I will cause a Bill to be sent or deliuered to whom yow will apoint me by your next lettre, wherby he shall be deuly payd of (400) Crownes yearly, by half yeares portion, for which he shall haue his first half yeares assignation before hand. If yow will haue this bill sent to yow eyther for Paris, Roan, Orleance, or any other cyty where exchang runneth in France, I will send it yow by post to Mr Rafe Greys; but I will not apoint any payments to be assigned into Scotland, for of this poor mole-hill wold be raised a rampart for many a fool to bestow his canon vppon. And it shold be decreed þat all such courtesies, which are but feathers tossed between men of quality or ingenuity, draw with them some consequences of practife or combination, of which, I protest to þe Lord, I am resolued to discard all idle ouertures, more then to keep frendship with one or two such as your self, wherby I may be informed, without fraud, how things go; and so accomodate all things to þe preservation of amity, in which consisteth þe fælicity of þe whole Hand. For þe Erle of Marr his opposition to you so violently, it makes me wonder, because he seemed here to me to haue a mind not ill prepared for frendship; but it may be his doubt, lest yow wold part stakes with his power about his Soverain, may yeld yow þe reflexions of bitter æmulation. But to God I leaue yow, for yow haue a strange Court, and strang particularitys (me think) posess yow, so as for mine owne part I will resolue neuer to pass þe riuer of Twede, thogh if yow come hyther in his naturall tyme I will hope þat

¹ Andrew Gray, the Master's eldest son, afterwards eighth Lord Gray. He married Anna Ogilvie, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater. His father, Patrick Lord Gray, was a party to the contract, which was dated at Foullis, Dec. 3, 1608.

we fouthern men shall rectify yow with our mild medecins, and temper the violence and inconstancy of your humours.

Ro. CECYLL.

If yow heare any expectation of our Parliament to do any wonders, take my woord þat we shall make it an epitome, and after our subfydy, herken to no other proiects; and belieue me, Sir, now Queen Elizabeth gouerns and not Rychard 2, as she shold haue ben, if Henry þe 4th had prospered.

SIR ROBERT CECYLL TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.

SIR, Since your last dispatches (of the 19 and 25th of July), I remayned still in expectation what to heare from you; the rather because I perceaued by them you weare declyninge agayne, as alsoe that I founde by some woords in Mr Grayes lettre, that you, havinge vnderstood of a new purpose in the Kynge to command you to ward, had taken the sea; which did much greiue me, in regard of the hope I had, that your honest and discreet indeuours would haue sett you in a better degree for the Kings favour, and whereof I was ever since in payne to heare the issue, which hath been [the] cause of my silence. Now haue I receaued from Mr Rafe Gray of the 13th of Awgust, and in it noe mention made of that perticular, which keepeth me still in distraction, because I know not where my lettres shall fynde you, and yet, (for answere to your late dispatches,) I thought not amisse to adventure theise. I was by your lettres informed of the Dukes imployment, and of his desyre to know by you, (for which purpose Forrest was addrested vnto me,) whether his comminge into England should be well taken. Now, Sir, if you will know what moued me to forbear my answere to this, you shall vnderstand, that if I had seene that the Duke, had depended in this perticular only vppon my answere to you, I had then forthwith made a dispatch, both because it should haue ap-

peared, that I esteeme my correspondency with you, (wherein the more we haue been sifted, the clearer I hope we are founde,) as alsoe that the Duke may know how farr her Maiefty is from neglectinge him, or any thinge that comes from him. But, Sir, before your lettre came to me, (at the least before Forrest arriued, after whose adrefs I was to make you answeare,) here was Mr Symple of Beltrefs arrived, whoe brought a lettre from the Kynge, wherein he tooke notice of her Maiesties proceedinges with his Embassadour, and gaue her moderate thanks for all those perticulers. This gentleman allsoe dealt with me in that poynct concerninge the Duke,¹ to whom I could not haue been fylent without inconvenience. Soe as when Mr Forrest came, I only courteously receaued him, and confirmed her Maiesties good inclynation to give the Duke a good wellcome; and so thought your motion in that poynct required noe speedy answeare. For Forrest, he professed good affection on the Dukes part in generall to her Maiefty, and said, if he mought receaue from me some private instructions, what I would wish him to doe now for her Maiesties service, he knew the Duke would doe it. I answeared it with like complement, but told him, that his profession was generall, and soe was her Maiesties acceptation, which included all perticulers; but it was hard for her to direct him in perticuler what to doe in the negociacion, when shee knew nothinge of his instructions. Soe as her Maiefty did only recommend to his iudgment to applye himselfe to effect all those thinges which may best conferue the amyty, which she would be ready to requite. Next, Sir, for the state of thinges in Scotland, as they haue relation vnto vs: First, be assured, that more then to hearken after any courses from Scotland or in it, which may be preiudiciall to this Estate, the Queene hath noe desygne, nor for my perticuler (I protest,) but with you doe I care to hould correspondency with any (but our agent) in that kingdome. Nether doth the Kinge (as I perceauue) now propounde any new, nor we deliberate of other grounds, then by the dispatch of the Erle of Marr, and his negociation was effected, with the perticulers whereof you were acquaynted.² For the calmes in

¹ Ludovick Duke of Lennox.

² 1601, May 31. The last day of Maii, the Earle of Marr, ambassador, came out of England; bot non knew quherfor he was sent, nor quhat he got.—*Birrel's Diary*, p. 54.

that Court vppon this late reconciliations, (for my owne part,) I fee noe great likelyhood of perpetuity, nothinge beinge (in my late obseruation) more contrary to that Estate, then not to fynde varyetye in all such accidents. I am only forry, that howsoever others (not only detected but convinced) can fynde meanes to be restored, you remayne still in privation, vppon the shaddowes of such suspicions, as tyme it selfe (which is the parent of truth) hath cleared.

For the newes which we haue here, they doe consist principally in the constitution of the affayres of Ireland, and of the Low Countreyes, and there especially in the state of Ostende. For the first, her Maiesty hath dayly good and happie succeffe vppon the Rebells, whereby I make noe doubt but her Maiesty shall receaue speedy end of those troubles, if the descent of Spanish forces doe not giue a new life to that Rebellion, whereof we haue a great probability to suspect, because a Spanish fleet hath been discovered settlinge his course for that coast, soe as (vntill some further tyme) we cannot tell what iudgment to make. For Ostend, there lyeth before it a powrefull army, commanded by the person of the Archduke, whoe is opiniaftre in the seidge, supported by the disunited Provinces, in an incredible proportion, with all that can be prepared for a seidge, and augmented by 8000 men out of Italy. In the towne we haue bodyes enough, for there are 5000 English, besyds Dutch, but the place is not well fortified, nether is the earth within it proper for reintrenchments; Soe as although (accordinge to the ould rules) many a playne Captayne would argue the impossibility to haue it taken, where there are soe many souldyers, as might safely make the enemy a breach, yet we see it dayly, that now great commanders that haue new experience in beseidginge, and can carry their trenches before them, and are soe well furnished with store of artilery, as they haue often commodity to dismount their cannon within, doe alwayes, by sapping, eate into the rampart, and so carry townes in the ende; towards which misfortune, (if soe it should happen,) the absence of the Generall Vere¹ is a great helpe, whoe comminge in, after the enemy

¹ Sir Francis Vere, second son of Geoffrey Vere, and grandson of John Vere Earl of Oxford. He was constituted general of the army of the States, and maintained with great vigour the defence of Ostend against the Spanish forces in 1601.

had been many dayes before it, did yet rayse divers outwoorkes, thereby to wynn tyme, before he would only be putt to the defence of the walls. This gallant jentleman, after many fallyes, receaued a hurt in the head with a cannon splynter of the towne, which was broken by an other from the campe, and grew foe dangerously into fevers, as the furgeons all protested he was lost if he remoued not; because the contynuall volleys of cannon, booth within and without, did shake the brayne, then which there can be noe greater enemy to the wounds in the head. He is now at Middleborough, from whence he is to retourne foe soone as he is able. In the meane tyme, the States haue sent in (for a further supplye) Monfr. Chattilion with certayne troupes of French, and the Collonell of the Scottish regiment, with his companies, befyds a third regiment, which they call the Gueses, whoe weare those which revolted in the Fort of St Andrew at Bommell. All which troupes made vpp two thousande, foe as there are aboute 7000 in the Towne, and (*sub sigillo confessionis*) I am playnly of opinion that it will be carried with tyme. Wherein it is not in our power to interrupt them, for that must be done with a powrefull army, which the States haue not. Thus haue you now as much newes as I can tell you, wherewith I end for this tyme, wishinge to heare of you, that you are in your Soveraynes favour.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, althogh I haue forborn to answer some off your lettres, since his Maiesties happy comming to þe Crowne, becawse some fals and idle

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter bears no date, but it must have been written after Sir Robert Cecyll was created Earl of Salisbury, which was in 1605. It is evidently intended for the Master of Gray, who undoubtedly succeeded his father in the year 1608, if not previously, (although *Douglas*, in his Peerage, gives the year 1609 for that event). This accounts for his being addressed as 'My Lord.' By a charter dated March 10, 1608, (confirmed by King James VI., *Mag. Sig. L.* 45, fo. 157,) the Master, under the title of 'Patrick Lord Gray,' gives *Marie Stewart, Lady Gray, his spouse*, the liferent of the dominical lands of Foullis, &c.; which proves that he must have been then in possession

shaddowes were cast vpon our former correspondencys, which time (þe parent of trewth) hath made as cleer to þe world, as it is to our owne fowles, to haue ben free from any vnhoneft ends: yet, left þat might be thought to proceed from some ill impressiõ, which hath ben only th'effect of cawtion, (not to be misjudged in the first establiishment of my fortune, which hath only prospered by þe treu and princely judgment which his Maiesty vsed, when there was question what is chaff and what is corn,) I haue thought it now, les then þe deu to our precedent frendship (contracted simply and only for þe advancement of his Maiesties highest and iustest desires,) to let you know by this best convoy, of mine owne hand, both what I am to my self and to you. First, Sir, I must need acknoledg þat if I shall preferr any privat end of mine before his Maiesties service, I deserue to be wyped owt of þe booke of lyfe, for (my Lord) neuer seruant ought so much to King or Master. Secondly, I confesse þat it is my second ambition to be able to serue my freends in all honeft occasions. I pray your Lordship therefore conclude, þat it is neyther change of fortune, nor distance of place, which can make me proud or forgetfull, and therefore, let no doubt surprise yow þat I am not very ready to do you any frendly office. And for the contents of 2 of your last lettres, (one by Mr Panmeur, another by this bearir,) let this serue for answer. When yowr pen shall tell me yow are ready for your journey, I shall be as ready to procure yowr lycence. For your desire þat I wold freend þe yong gentleman, I haue made him know my frendship towards yow, and therefore assured him of my respect to yowr recomendation, and thogh it be hard to draw water where þe poole is so exhawfted, yet hath he had some refreshing as þe time wold serue, and therin must I do him right, þat it is farr vnder his owne meritt.

Lastly, my Lord, for þe subiect wherof this gentleman shold haue spoken, (by þe creditt of your lettre,) let me tell you þat I shold haue ben of little vse in þat perticuler; for, althogh I found by him þat yowr owne judgment of þe chang of his estate had made yow change yowr proposition, yet (my

of the family estate and title. This deed also exposes another error of *Douglas*, who makes William Gray of Bandirrane the *son*, instead of the *brother*, of Patrick seventh Lord Gray. He is a witness to that deed, in which he is designed, '*Will. Gray de Bandirrane fratre germ. dicti Pat.*'

Lord) his condition before þe change was such as exceeded þe limitts of my walks, which are alredy to lardg for me to extend further, hauing more to take care of then is either safe for my fortune, or likely for me to discharge, as I desire to do, where I ow so much, as I know when I haue don all I can do, þat I shalbe but an vnprofitable seruant. And thus hauing now presented to yow both þe mynd and fortune of yowr old acquaintance, I end so, and will continew,

Your assured frend,

R. SALISBURY.

If your journey depend vppon your health, I shalbe gladd it may stay.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, Such is the difference and distinction between the necessarye correspondencies and formall courtesyes which passe between absent freinds, as I shall not neede to say much for my silence, after soe often exchange of lettres, nor for my writinge now after so longe silence; seeing the change of tymes bredd the first alteration, and the accidents arisinge since haue ministred new occasion. For, as you lived then soe neere that fountayne, from whence this kingdome was to expect that peace and safetye only, (which rann such a hazard in the declyninge adge of the late Queen, my gracious mistres, of happie memorye,) as it became everye honest man, in dutye and discretion, to imbrace and cherish all that could or would giue vs here ether light or meanes to preferue the same, especially my selfe, whom practise had soe deeply wronged, and jealousye (inseperable from her sex and disposition, whose only creature I was till her last breath,) soe much amated, as I durst scarce take hould of any way or meanes, dyrectly or particulerly, to expresse my innocent affections to the highest

¹ From the original, written in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library.

there, for feare to be suspected here. Soe, when it pleased God (in the due tyme) to giue vs him, for whom we longed, (and with him such a world of happines and ornament, as hath made this Iland like the foun in the firmament,) I held it none of the woorst counsells for booth of vs, to dyfcontynew the ordinarye current of our former entercourse, vntill some further tyme might cleere and satisfie some vayne and hard impreffions of the grounds of our former correspondencie.

It remayneth, therefore, now that I acquaynt you, that where a Booke was lately published here, intituled *TRIPlici-NODO, TRIPLEX CUNEUS*,¹ there is come from Rome a malicious Pamphlett in answeare thereof; wherein (amonge other insolent and virulent arguments and positions) there is one passage in it, wherein the Kinge our maister is charged to haue written to the Pope and certain Cardinalls in her Maiesties tyme. Of which great scandall, I haue thought it fitt to aduertise you for diuerse respects: Firft, because it is the dutye of every honest man (much more of men of place and qualite) to imploye both *oleum et operam* for preservation of their Maisters person and fortune from scandall and false accusation, especially such a King, whose accompteth his greatest strength to consist in his innocencie and sinceritie, and in such a cause, as cannot pass away in silence, without his Maiesties extreeme perill and preiudice. Towards which great and necessarye worke, on which his royall hart is soe much fixed, (and vpon soe iust grounds); though it is trew, that (amonge other of his servants) his Maiesty may expect from me more perticularly then from any other, (in respect of my place,) some such indeuours as may further his royall

¹ This book was written by King James himself, and the answer to it by Cardinal Bellarmine. Sir George Carew, the English Ambassador, writes from France in 1608: "The book that hath been published by the title of '*Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*,' was translated into French by some here, without my knowledge. But the Nuncio, hearing of it before it was fully printed, caused the impressions, by the Chancellor's commandment, to be forbidden. Tho' I guess at the author, yet, supposing there was good occasion for omitting his name, I thought it not fit to take any notice thereof publickly, without special direction. But I find that it is marvellously well received here among the learned men of this country, and specially Monsr. de V. and such like, so as I have written to a servant of mine in London to send me over some dozen or twenty copies of the same in Latin, or in French, if that impression be ended, to distribute among them here; for divers haue sent unto me for that purpose."—*Sloane MSS.* in the Brit. Museum, No. 4160, art. 144.

intentions; yet, (all circumstances considered), I must be playne with you, my Lord, that I conceaue noe man can be of more vse to him then you in this particuler. For which purpose I haue thought fitt to make you this dispatch, not doubting but you will willingly contribute to his Maiesties pure and iust desyres, and cooperate with me, (that am your ould acquayntance and freind,) in the furtherance of the same; the rather because it shall appeare vnto you, as well in this particuler, as it hath done formerlye, that I haue been verye vnwilling to runn long in arere for any courtesyes with any man, or intend at this tyme to propound any thing to you, which shall not be of as good vse to you as to my self, when you shall well examyne the same. First, his Maiefty doth well consider, that there is nothing foe vntrew, but serues the tourne for the tyme, vntill tyme and truth confute the same. If this be trew, that his Maiefty hath done what is here reported, then must his Maiefty of necessitye be held, (as he is the greatest King,) foe one of the greatest dissemblers. A wounde, (I dare vndertake,) more greivous to him then any worldly misfortune, especially when the least note or marke may be sett vppon him, for any weaknesse or doublenesse in those thinges, which haue any aspect to religion or conscience. For avoydance whereof, there is but one of theise two wayes for him to take: the one, by some discouerye or correspondencie from thence, to procure certayne knowleidge whether this be trew or noe, that there are any such lettres; and next, how the same haue been procured, to the intent that the fact it selfe may be constantly denied, and the falshood retorted vppon the authors, if this be one in the nomber of their legeons of lyes; or in case they haue any such thing to shew, that there may be some meanes for his Maiefty to come to the knowleidge of those that haue foe notoriously betrayed him, in contriving such a practife, which his Maiefty knoweth can be by noe other meanes then by some surprising him vppon some fodayne, with insertinge those lettres vppon other pretences. Having now made you see how our deare Maisters honor lyes a bleeding, and made you likewise know my owne desyres and ends, which are only to declare my self noe lesf zealous then fortunate in this case, which concerneth him, whoe, for foe small meritts, hath multiplyed foe many more benefitts vppon me then is possible for me to deserue, and by me is held

more precious, and more deare, (if nature can add more to mans affections,) then I carryed to my late Souverayne, towards whom my loue and obligation weare foe great; I think good to remember you of that, which you imparted to me foe particularly at your being in England, when Sir Richard Preston was here after the 5th of August, concerning the imployment of Mr Dromond and some others, with lettres from the King to the Pope and the Cardinalls, for the preferment of the Bishop of Veson, as well to confirme the truth of booth our conceits at that tyme, that the same might be gott, by some practife, from the King; as allsoe to intreat you (that had at that tyme foe particuler notyce of all the circumstances) to acquaynt me by the next dispatch, with as many particulers as you can remember of that matter, ether concerning Dromonds part in it, or any other that had been busye agents, in obtayning or carrying the same; by whose follye, if the King wittinglie had reposed any such trust in them, I remember wee were booth troubled to thinke what would be the effect. From which we see now their mallice can noe longer hold them. Hereby you shall both add to me some better grounds to sett my owne intelligence a worke, and, if I iudg aright, doe noe ill service to your selfe, by making his Maiesty see some effect of your endeavours, even in this particuler, wherein you haue not scaped some imputation, by the charitye which some of your illwillers lent you at that tyme, as if you had been one that had dealt in the same. I haue required this bearer to attend your pleasure, and retourne to me your answere, with all speed. And foe, wishing you health and all contentment, I end.

25 7bre 1608.

*Your assured loving
friend
L Salisbury*

LORD GRAY TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.¹

the world, and I think micht say as mutch as trewlie in this for his Maiestie, as any now haith lyf, his Maiesties self only exceptit. Bot my health is so variable, that I dare nether promit, nor attempt any such burding. Bot his Maiesties self, with a litle cronologicall memoriall, can best informe in that erand of all within this yrl. I leawe, then, to forther occasion and better memorie the pedegre of this malicious desing; and haue anfuerit only to your Lordships first point directly, that such letteris they haue at Rome, at what tym receauit, and by whom. Now to the second, whither or no the maiter be trew or fals, appeirantly his Maiestie can best resolwe that doubt; for I put it not in question bot he wilbe plaine with yow, feing God haith blifit him (without all flatterie) with supernaturall and not comoun wit, to see as fare in his owin princely affaires as any that evir did rigne in Europe, and in being plaine, no errour can chance to a prince, bot ether may be redressit or comlie excusit. This practife can not be baptisit a treuth, without his Maiestie, be willing knowledge, haue accordit to the wryting of such letteris, the sending of them, and wittingly haue signit them. If so he haue, then easie for him is it to remember who gewe his Maiestie so pernicious a counsell. And for his Maiesties exoneration, *Sit malum concilium consultori pessimum qui peccavit in suum caput*: for, indeid, he haith mowit his Maiestie to that inconvenient which long was focht agenst his Maiestie, and yet could never be attenit vnto, nor none that ever haid credit about him durst hazard to motion; albeit it be verie weill knawin to my self, that dyvers practifes haue bene lede for that propos, bothe in the tym I haid credit of his Maiestie, and in tym of my exill, and lykwayis since.² Bot for my

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library. This letter is unfortunately imperfect, the first sheet being wanting.

² The Master of Gray, while residing in Italy in 1599, had discovered King James's letter to the Pope, and transmitted a copy of it to Elizabeth.—*Robertson's History of Scotland*, 8vo., vol. 3, p. 139.

felt, I fand it his Maiesties only weill to follow a contrarie courfs. So I
 defye all calumnies to tutch me in that or the lyk cace, and am weill
 affured his Maieftie will purge me to be cleir of any futch maiter; for I
 never inclynit once that way, nether in counfell nor action, fince the 83
 [1543] that I enterit in the Englifh courfs at his Maiefties commandement,
 wherein I wes the firft that ever brocht it from doubtfulnes and hardnes to
 that amitie which did in end effectuat all owr happines. And if my for-
 tune be to leiwe, I difpaire not yet to reapt for it my owin thankes: althocht,
 I proteft to God, I am not invyous of any manis happines. Bot I retourne
 to this practife: if it be fals, one of two, ether a furpryse, or then a plainly
 contriuit falthead. If a furpryse, eafie it is for his Maieftie to divine who
 could performe futch a hich attemptat, and who in the 600 [1600] yeir
 haid authoritie or place about him to do it, for it wes to great a mote for
 a petit compaigzeon to hawe fwallowit. And if his Maieftie find it a
 furpryse, I am perfuadit, fo foun as it fhall come to the notice of the
 actor, he fhall condemne him felf as for alredy a hangit man, and fo his
 Maieftie is free. If it be altogether contriuit or conterfit, meiteft it is, in
 my opinion, that all be keipit fecret, and a practyfe layd down to draw
 Drommond ether into Scotland or England, which is eafie to do with his
 Maiefties only connivence, and fo yow fhall decover *le pot aux roses*.
 Bot my owin opinion is, that altogether it is fals and contrivit: For at my
 being in Chillinghame, when as her lait Maieftie without her offence wold
 not permit me to enter in Scotland, till once I fhould come bak to her, and
 then to go by fea, without any neceffarie ground mowing her to it (God
 knoweth and your felf) fave her owin pleasur, and I was lothe to difpleafe
 her; and fo maid promeis and performit; at that tym my wyf came to
 Chillinghame to me, and at her retourne I commandit her to fay to his
 Maieftie, that he haid employit verie indiscreit knaifes at Rome; which
 fche feallit not to fay, Drommond then being in Scotland, bak from Rome:
 which, all being confiderit, makes me think, if it haid not bene altogether
 fals, his Maieftie, on the licht I fend him, fould hawe askit Drommond. So
 my conceat carieth me to think, that the practifer heth abusit his Maieftie
 altogether. And if this be trew, his Maieftie then, efter Drommonds
 tryell, can eafelie not only decerne, bot lykwayis ley it af him felf *cum*

decoro. Bot I shall, so foun as my health permittis me, on your Lordships advertisment, fend yow a litle cronologie for a memoriall of this practife from the infancie of it, for it haith bene in brewing ever since his Maiestie put him self in absolut gouvernement. And yet the lyk advantage could never be haid over his Maiestie till the 600 [1600] yeir. Bot I am presently ill at ease, and I weirie your Lordship, and I doubt me greattumly, in respect of a cawtere in my richt arme, that yow hardly shall reid this, I thocht nocht meit to commit this subiect to the hand of any vther bot to myn owin.

*Yr. Loving friend to
servu you. Gray.*

If your Lordship hawe occasion to wryt bak, I wold be glaid, if yow hawe it, that yow fould fend me the buk *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus*, together with the reports from Rome: and shall reid and retourne all.

Your Lordships lettre came to me this Sondag tymly fend by Sir William Bowyer the 2 of 8^{re}, and this fame nicht hawe dispetchit him; who shall go from my howfs Fowls, God willing, befor sun ryfing, Monday the 3 8^{re}, 1608.

The pest is become about me extreame, so that I am to flee to Edinbruch, in respect of my childring, and I think it wes sum hinder to this berar; who, I think, if your Lordship hawe forther occasion, shall find me at Edinbruch.

EARL OF SALISBURY TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, hauing receaued an answere from your Lordship, to a letter of myne, (writtin with his Maiesties priuitye and direction), I think it my part to lett yow know what is become of the matter then in question, and how his Maiestie hathe accepted your answere.

First, yow shall vnderstand that (since the comming vp of the Lord President),² his Maiestie hath fallen into direct termes with him, charging him to haue bene eyther the procurer of those Letters, or partye with those that did it, laying before him (out of the strength of his owne memory) many circumstances to confirme the same: First, he remembreth him how often he solicited his Maiestie to write vnto the Pope: Secondly, how earnest he was for the deliuerie of Sir Edward Dromount³ when he was called in question for it: Lastly, he seemed to inferre, with verie violent arguments, that, seeing there was swch a fact, and he at that tyme the onely minister of his dispatches, Keeper of his Signett, and interessed in the cause that should be recommended, he must needs conclude, that he was able to lay open the truthe with all his circumstances; adding serious protestations, that he must not expect in this case to be exempted from such course of examinations as was vsuall in such cases. That now your Lordship may perceauie what it is when Kings haue right of their fyde, (whome Almightye God, as his annoynted more miraculously preferueth and protectethe then any other of his crætures), and what it workethe when a strong witt in a King fetts it selfe to searce truthe, I must shortly tell yow, that this vnfortunat noble man (euen at the first surprise) gaue himselfe no lesse wound then to confesse so much of the mat-

¹ From the original, in a clerk's hand, in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² James Elphinstone, first Lord Balmerino.

³ See *Lord Strathallan's Genealogy of the House of Drummond* (p. 153, 1831, 4to) for an account of Sir Edward Drummond, where he is erroneously named *David*. He appears to have been cousin both to Balmerino and the Bishop of Vaison.

ter, as to haue concealed what he knew (*ex post facto*) of that action, whereof he could not denye himfelfe to haue bene the propofitor, though not the originall instrument, after he had found his Maieftie took no lyk- ing of it.

When thus much had paffed from him, which was onely a putting it from himfelfe to Dromount, I need not tell yow how clofely the King would beare vp to draw the reft. Yow know fo much better then I what his Maiefties sharpe and percing judgment was lyke to do, it being fufficient for me to tell yow, that the next degree he was brought to, was, in effect, a plaine confeffion of the whole fact, and the circumftances; which was no leffe then, that after he had moued his Maieftie to write, and bene refused it, he was fo poffeffed with an opinion, that the confequence of fuch a recommendacion might be of good vse to him, as he could not free his thoughts of the matter till he had effected it; and therefore, hauing wrought the King to be contented to write to the Cardinall of Lorraine, Duck of Florence, and Duck of Sauoye, in the fauour of Vefon,¹ (as he fhould haue any occation to recommend the fame), he watched his opportunitie in a morning when the King was going a hunting, and fo fhuffled in thofe letters to the Pope and thofe two Cardinalls vnder colour of the other, which, being once figned, he caufed fome fpaces, which he had left in the draught of the letters, for *Serenitatis vestræ* to be conuerted into *Sancti- tatis vestræ*, and (which was the bitter word indeed) did caufe Sir Edward Dromount, in his Romaine hand, to write *filius* aboue *Jacobus* in the fubfcription, and fo gaue order to put the Signett to it.

Thus hath your Lordship now the ftory of this vnpleafant fubiect, being the difcouerie of an offence of this nature in fuch an officer, as no Prince can efcape the danger, if that priuacy of truft be ill applied. To the King this difcouery hath brought an infinite contentment, who, though he knew himfelfe pure and innocent in thought and actions, held himfelfe ftill fcandalized in the world, before it pleased God to bring this to light; wherein his Maiefties owne memory hath bene the beft helpe to redeeme his honor that lay at the ftack, for otherwife I fee not (Dromount being

¹ William Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison, of the family of Chisholm of Cromlix.

206 PAPERS RELATING TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

out of hand) how this nobleman could haue bene directly convinced of the fame; of whose case I confesse to yow, (for many good parts that were in him), I cannot but be very fory, such men being sooner lost then found; onely this I may assure yow, that vntill his Maiestie saw himselfe as clere as the sunne in the firmament, his spiritts were so full of anxietye, as, had he bene my brother, I must rather haue wished his fall then his vexation, to whome, not only as my Souerayne, but as the most dere master that euer seruant had, I owe more then any other both of lyfe and fortune. It remayneth now, my Lord, that I assure your Lordship, though your letter brought him nothing but a confirmation and reuiuing to his memory of those thinges that had passed in former tymes, (for which it seemed he neuer needs memorialls), and wherein I perceaued yow little dreamed of this lighting place, yett the forme of your letter gaue him so much satisfaction as he hath willed me to tell yow, that he held the fame to proceed from a hart full of honesty and affection to do him ieruice; which newes no man shall make more hast to tell yow, then he shall do at all tymes, that is and euer wilbe

Your Lordships assured louing friend,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'L. Salisbury'. The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, ornate initial 'L' followed by the name 'Salisbury' in a flowing, connected hand. There is a horizontal flourish or underline at the end of the signature.

Whitehall, this 30th
of October [1608].

APPENDIX.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

KING JAMES V. TO PATRICK GRAY OF BUTTERGASK.¹

WEILBELOUIT FREIND, We grete 3ow wele; fforfamekill as þat ane half of þe airfchip gudis of vmquhile Patrik Lord Gray, þat laft deceffit, perteins to ws throw forfaltour of Johnne Lyoun, sumtyme Lord Glammiss, þat ane of þe tua airis of þe said vmquhile Patrik, and that vþer half pairof perteins, and fuld pertene, to Andro Stratoun of þat Ilk, þat vþer of þe airis of þe said vmquhile Patrik, and We haue disponit and gevin oure half of þe said airfchip gudis to þe said Andro: Quhilkis haill airfchip gudis 3e haue intromettit with, and hes in 3our handis and keping, OURE WILL is heirfore, and We charge 3ow ftraitlie, and commandis þat, incontinent efter þe ficht heiroyf, 3e deliuer þe saidis haill airfchip gudis to þe said Andro Stratoun, for the caus aboue writtin, within sex dais nixt efter þe presenting and deliuering of þir presents to 3ow, as 3e will report specialle thanks of ws þairfore, and do ws finglar empletowr, and anfowr to ws þairupoun at 3our vter charge; keiping þis writing for 3our warrand. Subfcriuit with our hand at Craufurd Johne, þe xvj day of Julij, and of our Regne þe xxviiij 3eir.



To oure weilbelouit freind
Patrik Gray of Butergask, etc.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. Patrick Gray of Buttergask was afterwards fifth Lord Gray.

APPENDIX.

v

JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

GUBERNATOR

TRAIST COUSING, We commend ws to 3ow hartlie; fforfamekle as We ar
furelie aduertist pat diuers grete personis of þis realme, baith spirituall and
temporall, tendis presentlie to cum to þe burgh of Edinburgh, and vtheris
burrowis of þis realme, with convocatioun and gadering of þe liegis, bodin
in feir of weir, and in forme of ane army, quhilk is agains þe commoun
weill, Confidering þair is na neccessare caus quhy þe famin fuld be done;
bot, gif it be to vsurpe þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and to invaid ws,
OURE WILL is heirfore, and We charge 3ow straitlie, and commandis, in þe
Queins Gracis name and auctoritie, pat, incontinent þis oure lettre sene,
That 3e addres 3ow to be at ws in Lythquho, bodin in feir of weir, with
3our houshald, kin and freindis, with sex dayis victuall, þe xxij day of
Julij, for þe defens and furthbering of þe Queins Gracis auctoritie, and
repreffing of þame pat wald conspire and conspiris agains þe famin, vnder
þe paine of treffoun, as 3e will anfuere to ws þairupoun. Gevin vnder
oure Signet and subscriptioun, at Edinburgh þe xx day of Julij, the 3eir
of God I^m v^e and xliij 3eris.



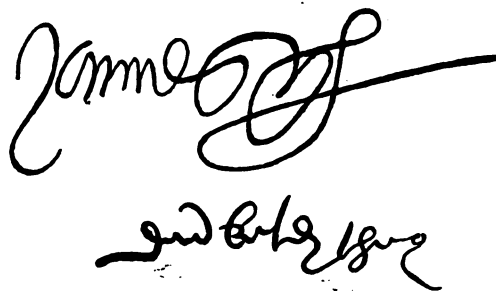
To our traist Cousing and Consalour
Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

LICENCE BY JAMES, EARL OF ARRAN, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

GUBERNATOR

WE, for certane gude and resonable caufis moving ws for þe tyme, and specialie at þe request of þe Quenis Grace, and our bruper Archebald Erle of Ergyle, has gevin and grantit, and be þir presents, gevis and grants ane fre licence and tollerance to our welebelouit coufing Patrik Lord Gray to remane at hame him self, fra þis our present armye convenit at Hadingtoun, þe last day of Junij in xlvij zers, ay and quhill our said bruper Erle of Ergyle cum þair him self: The said Patrik Lord Gray fend- and fourthe his bruper, with his folks and freinds, to our said armye; and þat nochtwithstanding any our proclamationes past afore herupoun: And will þat þe said Lord Gray incure na crime of leis maiestie þerthrow, be byding fra our said armye, nor to be callit nor pwnift in his persoun, guds nor heretage þerfor, be þis our letter of licence, gevin vnder our signet, and fufcriuit with our hand, At Liddyntoun, þe first day of July in xlvij zers.



The image shows two handwritten signatures. The top signature is a large, stylized cursive script that appears to read 'James'. Below it is a smaller, more legible cursive signature that reads 'xlvij 1567'.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray.

MARY OF GUISE, QUEEN REGENT, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAIST COUSING, eftir hartlie commendatioun; We ar aduertist pat þe King of Denmerks navy is ellis within our walteris in fycht of þat north coift, and becaus þe meanyng and intentioun þerof is nocht knawin to ws, for eschewing of inconveniencis, We haue thocht expedient pat ze, and our coufing þe Erle of Arroile, convene þe hale schyre þe gidder in Dundie, and to gif attendance þerupone, and hes fend 3ow lettres to þat effect; Praying 3ow pat ze be diligent in convenyng of þe cuntrie, and await in þe town of Dundie vpone þe said navy, quhill intelligence may be gottin of þer purpos; as ze luif þe wele of our dereft dochter and hir realme, and will do ws verray hie seruice, and grete plesour in þat behalf. And God kepe 3ow. At Edinburgh þe xxvj day of Junij.

La Birn Tr.
11/11/11/28

To our traift coufing
 the Lorde Gray.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis Lord Gray. There is no year given in this order, but it may, probably, be assigned to 1557, when 'þis 3eire in Julay, Hother Tranberne comes ambassador from the Ladey Anna, Duchesse of Oldenburghe, Vestfrisland, and Delamahurst, to Scotland, and concludes a peace with this crowne for 100 3eires.'—*Balfour's Annals*, vol. i. p. 306.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAST COUSING, efter hartlye commendatioun; nochtwithstanding of þe gude report hes bene maid to ws of 3ow, 3eit We ar verray blyith to se be 3our lettres þe intire affectioun 3e haue evir had to our vmquhill Moperis seruice and ours, and is nocht vnknawing to ws þe contentement sche had of 3ow, with þe gud will to maik 3ow knaw þe samyn, quhairas We will haue na les of our part, traifing 3e will continew 3our gude affectioun, and þe condigne offices 3e haue vfit, induring thir trubles, amangis 3our freyndes, to continew þame in thair dewtie and obedience aucht to ws; Praying 3ow to gif nowþer fauour nor censour to na thing bot to [quhat] 3e beleue be conform to our intentions; quhairof 3e fall evir be aduertist, as þe maters fall succeid in thir partis, of þe quhilks We pray 3ow aduertis ws of 3our advis, be frequent vriting. Sua We pray God preferue 3ow. At St Germains, þe aucht day of October.²

*Zongnd freinde
marie*

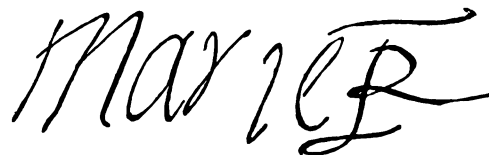
To our coufing the
Lord Gray.

From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

¹ This letter must have been written in Oct. 1560, as Mary of Guise died in June of that year, and Queen Mary returned to Scotland in August 1561.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK, FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAIST COUSING, We grete 3ow weill. Oure perliament, quhilk wes appointid to haue bene haldin þe ferd day of Februar instant, is be ws continewit vnto þe xij day of Merche nixtocum; and leift 3e mycht be ignorant of þe said continewatioun, and thairthrow absent 3our self fra cuming to oure said parliament, We haue thocht gud, be þis oure lettre, to put 3ow in remembrance of þe said continewatioun, and to desire and pray 3ow effectiouflie þat 3e will nocht fail to be at ws in oure burgh of Edinburgh þe ferd day of þe said moneth of Merche, for 3our avys and opinioun to be had in sic things as ar to be treatid in oure said parliament; As 3e will do ws acceptabill seruice and plesour in þat be halff. Subscriuit with oure hands, at oure palice of Halirudhous, þe xxij day of Februar, 1565.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Mary II', written in dark ink.

To our traist coufing,
the Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

TRAIST COUSING, We greit 3ou weill. The baptisme of our dearest sone the Prince wilbe schortlie, and pat in Streueling, quhairvnto the Ambafatours of the gretast Princes in Christandome will resort, and than it is maist neidfoull that we be honorabillie accompanyt, 3e will here of the tyme and dyett; quhilk we pray 3ow effectuuilie addres 3ou to keip, apparellit in sic honest maner as the tyme and occasioun cravis, according to the estait of your hous; ffor 3e will not agane in many 3eiris haue the like thyng in hand; and heirintill 3e will do ws maist thankfull seruice and plefour. Subscriuit with our hand, at Crammald,² the xvj day of August, 1566.

MARIE R.

To our traist coufing,
the Lord Gray etc.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.

² Crammald, or Cranalt, now Meggetland, is situated in Peebles-shire.

EARL OF MORTON, AND OTHER LORDS, TO PATRICK FIFTH LORD GRAY.¹

MY LORD, eftir maift hertlie commendationes: It is refoluit to difpatche ROBERT, Commendatare of Dunfermling,² towards the Quene of England, with fic a lettir and credit as 3our Lordship may perfaue: And becaus the fame wilbe þe mair honorable, and haue the grettar auctoritie, the mor Noblemen and of the Eftatis that fubfcriue it, we haue fend the lettre and instructionis to your Lordship to be fubfcriuit, prayand 3our Lordship to fubfcriue the fame, that þe berar may returne thairwith howfome may be, becaus the fonar the difpatche be maid, the fonar will we reffaue refolution. And fen the neceffitie of this Commoun weill cravis the fame, we doubt not bot 3our Lordship wilbe willing to the furtherance and expedition thairof. And fua for the present we commit 3our Lordship in the protection of God. At Edinburgh the xx day of Marche, 1569.

Your Lordships affured freindis,

To my lord, my Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² Robert Pitcairn.

MATHEW, EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT, TO PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY,
AFTERWARDS SIXTH LORD GRAY.¹

RICHT TRAIST COUSING, efter maist hertlie commendatioun, We vnderstand that thair is ane irne zetling,² apprehendit in the Forth of Bruchtie, the tyme of the wyning perof, now in your hous of Bruchty, quhairwith we haue presentlie to do for the Kingis seruice; and pairfoir, we desyr you effectuellie, that ye will not fail to caus deliuer the said irne zetling, with sic furnitour as she hes ganand for hir, to the berair heirof, to be transportit to Leyth, as we haue appointit; quhairin ye fall declair your gude affectioun to the Kingis seruice, and will speciall and gude plefour. Thus we committ you in the protectioun of God. At Striueling, the last day of August, 1571.

Your affurit freind,



And efter the present seruice be done, the same pece shalbe deliuerit to you agane, for we are contentit to charge all freindis quhair ordinance is at this tyme.

To our richt traist coufing,
the Maister of Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² The following entry appears in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, as the expense of transporting this piece of ordnance and other amunition to Leith:—'Oct. 1571. Item to Robert Gardnar gunnar, for expens maid be him in passing to Perth, Dundie, Bruchtie, and vpers partis, for bringing of ane irne pece, bullettis, and bying of bullettis, tymmer, and boit fraucht to the schoir and peir of Leith, hors hire and feis; as ane compt given in be the said Robert, and subscriuit with his hand, schawin and productit vpon compt beirs, xxvii iij s iij d.

DISCHARGE, KING JAMES VI. TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.¹

REX.

WE, be the tenour heirof, giueis and grantis to Patrick Maister of Gray, an full dischairdge of all gould, jowells, claithing, or any vther our menagerie, quhatsumeuer quherwith he haid intromiffioun, be reafoun of his office of Maister of our Gardrob;² and exoneris, quytclamis, and frely dischairdges the said Maister of the fame for ever; in respect, in presence of our felfis, he hes maid to the Auditoris of our Eschequer an cleir compt of all his intromiffioun, quhilk ve allou be thir presents. Subfcryuit vith our hand at Holyrudhous, the 15 of December, 1586.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'James VI.', with a large, ornate initial 'J'.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

² The Master of Gray was Master of the King's Wardrobe in June 1585, and it seems he resigned the office on his being appointed Ambassador to England in December 1586. He appears, from the following entry in the Lord Treasurer's accounts, to have again held that office in 1595: 'August, 1595.—Item be his Hienes speciall comand delyverit to Patrik Master of Gray, Master of the Garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Prince's claithes, viij li.'

QUEEN ANNA TO MARY STEWART, MISTRESS OF GRAY.¹

TREST COUSINGNESS, We greit yow hartlyie weill. The tyme now approaching of our entryie within Dundie, and considring also how necessarye it is for our estate to be honorablie convoyed, we have thought expedient, be thir lynes, to requeist yow to accompanye ws in that iornay; and to that effect we desyre yow to attend vpon ws in the toune of Saint Jhonston, the xj of this instant, quhairby ge sal do ws maist acceptable plefour. Thus, trusting to the fulfilling of our desyre, we committ yow to God. Fra Falkland, the vj of September, 1597.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anna R.". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a large, sweeping flourish at the end of the "R".

To our Right trest coufingness,
the Maistres of Gray.

¹ From the original in the possession of Francis, Lord Gray.





I Landt That some mch I left you last at
 end hours and ver in danger amongst the Craigis
 and never in my left so sek. For I met Mr
 mas Hendryson of Edinb: he has no news here of
 Theorte of Gourges death, he tells it in the same
 sorte as ye have heard it. Ther is execute m^r Th^e
 Grantoun and George Gaingelt & John Boner men of
 St Johnesoun. They are executed for that they
 found to be in armes before the rest. His man the
 ver I am is boottit m^r Willm Rynd, and he
 depairt no thing save that my Lord Stair magister
 Thalie and frame and heel spiritus. His chamber
 Lane we should have flame the King is yet
 kept. Mr. Patrick Gallaway has preached all this
 in the pulpit of Edinb. Bothe of the magic and
 treason, bot all we are dead confess in thing
 the L. after the preaching In our solemnly that
 all ver true he had preached by his salvation
 and condemnation. The rest of the ministers are
 preacht to suffer ye that it ver true, but they
 refuse yet they grant to thank god for his
 ma^{ny} helperme: and so they are banish. Richard
 preston is at London, bot as yet I have not
 but they say to him from London ye shall
 see him all: And I remaine your loving friend
 and loving - Gray.

I forgot a mough when I was in
 of going was a double bottom. The
 rest of the minister will not believe him.

SUMMONS TO PATRICK SIXTH LORD GRAY, TO ATTEND PARLIAMENT.¹

EFTER our verie hairtlie commendationis to your gude Lordship, It has plesit the Kingis Maiestie, for some wechtie and grit confiderationis, to appoint and ordane ane new Conventioun of the Nobilitie, Counfell, and Estaittis of this kingdome, to be assemblit heir at Edinburgh, vpoun the aucht day of August nixtocome, to consult, treat, and deliberat, vpoun sic materis as at that tyme falbe proponit and appynit vp vnto thame; and thairfoir, according to his Maiesteis speciall direction, We haue heirby thocht meit to requeist and desyre your Lordship effectuoullie, that ze faill not, all excuissis sett asyde, to be heir vpoun the sevint day of the said moneth of August nixt, to the effect ze may be preparit vpoun the morne thairefter to convene with the remanent of the Estaittis, and to confer, auyse, consult and vote, in sic thingis as at that tyme falbe proponit. And sua, resting assured of your preceis keping of this dyett, as ze respect his Maiesteis obedience and seruice, we committ your Lordship to God. Frome Edinburgh the xix day of Junij, 1605.

Your Lordships goode freindis,

Wm. B. Comptroller.

Al: Cancell:

Secret

To our very goode Lord,
the Lord Gray.

¹ From the original in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh.

WARRANT IN FAVOUR OF PATRICK MASTER OF GRAY.¹

We, wnderfubfcribeand of his Majesteis counfall of Scotland, conforme to his Majesteis warrand, haveing fichtit and confiderit the fowmeis of money addettit be his Majestie to Patrik Maifter of Gray, Findis the famin to [amount] to the fowme of Nynteine thowfand nyne hundrethe fourfcoir thrie pundis iiij ſ xj ġ money of Scotland: Quhilk fowme, conforme to his Majesteis warrand, We will and defyre 3ow, Daudid Lord of Scone, his Majesteis Comptroller of Scotland, to pay and delyver to the faid Maifter of Gray, and that of the radiest of 3owr intromiffioun in the faid office: Quhairanent his Majesteis warrand foirfaid, with thir presentis, and the faid Maifteris difcharge, fall be fufficient allowance to 3ou at 3our comptis making. Subfcribeit with our handis, at Perth, the elle-vint day of Julij, 1606.

MONTROISS COMMISSIONAR.

AL. CANCELL^r.

DOUNBAR.

J. SECRET^r.

S. T. HAMILTON.

¹ From the original, preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh.

NOTICES OF THE FAMILY OF GRAY, EXTRACTED FROM THE ACCOUNTS
OF THE LORDS HIGH TREASURERS OF SCOTLAND, FROM
THE YEAR 1529 TO THE YEAR 1602.

Nov. 24, 1529. Item, to William Cristefon, messinger, þat past to þe Lord Gray,¹ with directions of þe Lordis of Secrete Counsal, xx š.

Sept. 7, 1532. Item, to ane boy to rynn furth of Sanctiohnestoun, with ane writting to þe Lord Gray, in Fowlis, for money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, xx đ.

Sept. 24. Item, þe xxiiij day of September, to ane boy to rynn to þe Lord Gray, for money awand to þe Kingis Grace, and for ane rentall of þe Erle of Craufurdis propertie, viiij š.

Nov. 12. Item, lettres depeschit furth of Falkland, be Maister George Cuke, to þe Bischope of Sanctandrois, þe Lord Gray, &c., for ane conventioun to be had in Edinburgh, xl š.

Junij 13, 1533. Item, to ane man þat raid furth of Sanctiohnestoun to Fowlis to þe Lord Gray, to caus him put þe Lard of Powreis gudis vnder fens, for þe slauchter of Thomas Fotheringhame, iiij š.

Item, to ane boy to pas furth of Striueling to þe Lord Gray, with writtingis for the Lard of Powreis eschete, v š.

July 21. Item, þe xxj day of July to Cuthbert George, m. to pas to inbring dettis owing be Gilbert Gray² and vperis in Angus, xx š.

Aug. 31. Item, to Dauid Dronane, to pas with lettres chargeing þe Lord Gray to content to our Souerane Lord, or his Thesaurer, þe foume of iiij^e merkis within vj daies, vnder þe pane of rebellioun, x š.

Sept. 8. Item, to ane messinger to pas with þe Kingis wrytingis to þe Erle Rothes and Lord Gray for þe Conventioun, x š.

Nov. 28. Item, þe xxviiij day of Nouember, to James Murray, messinger, to pas to the Lord Gray, to inbring certane sowmes of money awand to þe Kingis Grace to the Thesaurer, xx š.

¹ Patrick, fourth Lord Gray.

² Probably Gilbert Gray of Buttergask.

Dec. 17. Item, þe xvij day of December, to Andro Mefar, meffinger, to pas with clois writingis to þe Erlis Rothois, Montros and Lord Gray, xx š.

Jan. 2. Item, to Cuthbert George, meffinger, þe secund day of Januar, to pas to þe Lord Gray, for certane money awand be him to þe Kingis Grace, x š.

Aug. 28, 1534. Item, to William Duncane, meffinger, to pas to charge þe Lord Gray to cum againe to þe Chekker, xiiij š.

Merche, 1536. Item, þe samyn day to Bute purfevant, to pas with ficlik lettres to the Bisshopis of Sanctandrois and Brechen, Lordis Gray, &c. (for þair honest prepareing agane þe Kingis Graces hameeuming etc.) xl š.

April, 1537. Item, to Carrik purfevant, for his expensis passing to all partes on þe sey coist to caus þe marynaris þat fuld pas in France with þe schippes, cum to Leith and rellaue þair wagis,

Item, to ane boy for passing with ficlik writingis to Sir Johne Campbell, and to þe Lord Gray, to caus þair men within Angus cum, v š.

Julij. Item, to Johne Paterfoun, for his expensis passing with lettres to summond ane affise to be on þe Lord Ruthvennis inquest, and vperis, for þe oppreffioun done to Alexander Gray of Ballegarno,¹ xxxiiij š.

Aug. Item, deliuerit to William Hardy, meffinger, for passing with þe Kingis lettres to Dundè, till mak inhibitioun be oppin proclamatioun, þat nane by þe Lord Grayis landis, &c. xxviiij š.

June 20, 1541. Item, þe xx day of Junij, gevin to Johnne Cobe, to pas in Angus, and charge Patrik Gray,² to deliuer þe Lord Grayis evidendis, and all vperis, be opin proclamatioun, xxij š.

July 6. Item, gevin to Patrik Thomfoun, for his expensis passing to Angus to arrest þe Grayis geir, and inbringing of dettis, xxx š.

Jan. 24, 1543. Item, þe xxxiiij day of Januar, to ane boy fend furth of Striueling with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernouris to þe Lord Gray

¹ The Grays of Ballegarno were descended of Andrew Gray, son of the first Lord Gray.

² Patrick Gray of Buttergask, afterwards fifth Lord Gray. This and the following entry appear to refer to the subject of the letter by King James V., printed in the Appendix, p. iv.

in þe Blaknes,¹ and ane other to þe Abbot of Dunnfermling, and for his
travell, and with þe anser agane to Sanct Johnstoun, v š.

Jan. 27. Item, to ane boy fend furth of Dundè to þe Blaknes with ane
writting to þe Lord Gray, v š.

Jan. 31. Item, þe samyn day to ane other boy fend furth of Aberbro-
thok with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernoris to þe Blaknes for my Lord
Gray, v š.

Oct. 25, 1544. Item, þe xxv day of October, to Adam Foreman, mafer,
direct to Sanct Johnstoun to tak affurance betuyx my Lord Gray and
the Laird of Cragy, xl š.

Nov. 25, 1546. Item, þe samyn day John Forfythe, messinger, letteris
to poinde for certane vnlawes in Angus; togidder with clofit writtingis to
þe Lordes Gray, Ogilweye, &c. xxx š.

Merche 13. Item, to Barre, messinger, clofit writtings of my Lord
Gouvernoures, directt to my Lorde Gray in Angus, xiiij š.

July 1, 1547. Item, to Mr Johnne Forfythe letteris of proclamatioun
directt to Cowper, and all þe townnes vpoun þe coist fyde, chairgeing
þame þat þai suld remaine vpoun þe coist fyde, nochtwithstanding þe
rumor ryffyn of þe departing of þe Inglishe schippes; and þat þai keip
þair dyet to conveine at Peblis the xij day of July instant; togidder with
missivis to all þe gentillmen of Fyfe to keip þe samyn, xxx š.

Item, Hwtoun, sicklik myffives to þe Abbot of Lundores, Lordes
Glammys, Gray, Ogilweye, &c. xxx š.

Aug. 23. Item, xxij^o Auguſti, my Lord Gouvernouris Grace and
Counſale being ſurely advertiſt þat þe army of Ingland wes at handis,
To Mathew Stratherne, messinger, letteris of proclamatioun, with þe fire
croce to Kincardine, Aberdene, &c.; and billis agane to the Erllis of
Huntlie, Arrole, and Maister of Forbes.

Item, Hwtoun, sicklike letteris, with the fire croce, to Fyfe and Forfair,
with billis to þe Erllis of Rothes, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c.

Dec. Item, my Lord Gouvernour and my Lord of Dunkeld being in
Perth, hyrit tua horſs, and fend with gawillockes, pikes and mattokis, to

¹ Patriok fifth Lord Gray. He appears to have been at this time warded in Blackness
Castle.

haue affailieit þe hous of Huntlie, in cais þe samyn had nocht bene randerit to þame, ix dayes wages, ilk horse vpoun þe day iij ſ; ſumma, lvj ſ.

Item, to Daid Dog and Williame Thekar, maſones and quariouris ſend with þame, iij ſ. x ſ.

Item, be his Graces commande, to Daid Dog to pas to Huntlie to bear his expenſis, v ſ.

Dec. 18. Item, xvij Decembris, to Johne Hart, meſſinger, letteris direct, chargeing certane perſones within þe Lord Grayes houſſes of Huntlie to deliuer þe ſame to þe Tutour of Petcur and Laird of Inchemertyne, to be kept be him to þe Quenis Grace behufe; and letteris to þe ſaid Tutor to reſſaue þe ſame.

Item, to ane other boy ſend to Perth to my Lorde Dunkeld with ſummondis of treſſoun raſit vpoun þe Lord Gray, x ſ.

Dec. 31. Item, to Sir Johnne Mortimar direct furth of Edinburgh, with ane writting of my Lord Gouvernouris to my Lord Gray, xlv ſ.

Januar. Item, þe tyme of my Lorde Grayis entrè in waird within þe Caſtell of Edinburgh, boucht foure lokes to be hung vpoun foure durris within þe ſaid caſtell, xx ſ.

Apr. 1558. Item, þe ix day of Aprile, to Alexander Cunnyngſham, meſſinger, paſſand of Edinburgh with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces of þe ſherifdomes of Forfair and Kincardine, chargeing all and ſindrie erlis, lordis, baronis, and frehalderis, etc., That pai, weill bodin in feir of weir, addreſs þame to cum forwartis, and be in þe townis of Dunſ and Langtoun þe xvij day of Aprile instant, with xv dais victualis efter þair cumming, vnder þe pane of tinſale of life, landis and guidis, etc. Togidder with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erle Mercheale, Craufurde, Lordis Gray and Innermaith, and to þe effect foirſaid, lv ſ.

Aug. 1561. Item, þe vij day of Auguſt, to Peter Craik, meſſinger, paſſand of Edinburgh with clois writtings of þe Lordis of Secreit Counſale, to þe Erle of Rothes, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. to be in Edinburgh with þair honorable cumpaneis to þe Queins Grace enteres furth of France, agane þe laſt day of Auguſt, xl ſ.

Item, þe thrid day of December, to ane boy paſſand of Edinburgh with ane clois writting of the Queins Grace to my Lord Gray, . . . ix ſ.

Marche 8, 1561. Item, þe said day Williame Logane, messinger, passand of Edinburgh, with lettres to chairge Johne Ogiluy of Innerkeilour to mak payment of þe sowe of xxxiiij l̄ vj s̄ viij d̄, as cautioun and fouertie for Agnes Gray, Ladie of Restalrig,¹ xx s̄.

Aug. 1562. Item, þe secund day of August, to Johne Paterfone, herauld, passand of Edinburgh, with lettres of proclamatioun to þe mercat croces within þe sherefdomes of Forfare and Kincardin, chargeing all and fundrie erlis, lordis, barones, landit men and frehalderis within þe saidis bounds, that thai, with pair freinds and substantius houshald men, addres þame to meit our Souerane Ladie at Abirdene þe xxiiij day of August instant, and pair to await for þe space of ane moneth. Togidder with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merscheale, Craufurde, Lordis Glammis, Gray, and Innermaith, to þe effect foirsaid, iiij l̄.

Item, þe said xix day of October, to ane boy passand of Abirdene, with clois writtingis of the Quenis Grace to the Abbote of Cowpar, Lordis Glammis, Gray, &c. xxvj s̄.

May 6, 1565. Item, þe said day to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of þe Quenis Grace to þe Erlis Merscheall, Craufurde, Lordis Gray, &c. xxxiiij s̄. iiij d̄.

Sept. 2. Item, þe secund day of September, to ane boy passand of Glasgw, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erlis of Craufurde, Errole, Lordis Gray, Glammis, &c. xl s̄.

Jan. 30. Item, þe said day to Robert Skart, post, passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtingis of our Souerains to þe Erle of Mar, Lord Gray, &c. xxiiij s̄.

Aprile 14, 1568. Item, þe said day to twa boyis passand of Edinburgh at fundrie tymes, with clois writtingis of þe Comptaris to my Lord Gray, xxx s̄.

May. Item, þe first day of Maij, to ane boy passand of Glasgw, with clois writtingis of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Lordis Gray, &c. concerning þe affaris of my Lord Ambassadour of France, iij l̄.

¹ She was the daughter of Patrick fifth Lord Gray, and married, first, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig; secondly, Alexander fifth Lord Home; and thirdly, Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, High Treasurer of Scotland.

Aprile 27, 1569. Item, þe faid day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writting of my Lord Regentis Grace to my Lord Gray, xiiij s̄ iiij d̄.

Sept. 23. Item, þe faid day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with clois writtings of þe Comptaris to my Ladie Gray,¹ xx s̄.

Aug. 1571. Item, the ferd day of August, to ane boy passand of Leyth, with clois writtings of my Lord Regentis Grace to the Lords Gray, Ogilvy, &c. x l̄.

March 1572. Item, þe last day of Merche, to Andro Annand, massenger, passand with lettres of Leith, to charge Patrik Lord Gray, James Crychtoun of Ruthven, to compeer befor my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Counsil, the tent day of Aprile nixtocum, to ansuer to sic thingis as sould be laid to pair charge. Togidder with lettres to charge James Lord Ogilvy to departe of þis cuntrie, conforme to his licence, betuix and þe first day of Maij nixtocum, with certificatioun, etc. vj l̄.

May 14. Item, þe faid day, to ane boy passand of Leith, with clois writing of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Erles Craufuird, Merschell, Buchane, Lords Glammis and Gray,

Februar 28. Item, for expenssis maid be Gawin Ramsay, messenger, vpoun certane talkaris in threshing of þe cornis in Gogar, pertaining to Dame Agnes Gray, Lady Home, hors hyris in carieing of þe fame to Edinburgh, hous maill, custome, and vther small chargeis; as ane compt subscriuit be þe faid Gawin, producit vpoun compt, beris, xvj l̄. xj s̄. ij d̄.

Marche 1, 1573. Item, þe faid day, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh, with ane clois writing of my Lord Regentis Grace to þe Lord Gray, xvj s̄.

Feb. 1581. Item, remittit and dischargit be his Maiesties precept, to his Hienes rycht traist coufing and counsalor, Esme Duicke of Levinox, Erle Dernlie, etc. the compositioun of the escheit of James Gray,² sone lauchfull to Patrick Lord Gray, as the faid precept producit vpoun compt beris, 1^c lib.

¹ Marion, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy of Airly.
Patrick fifth Lord Gray.

² James Gray, fourth son of

1582. Item, the third of September, to ane boy passand with clois lettres to Lordis Ogilvie, Gray, and Innermeith, &c. iiij l. vj s. viij d.

Junij 1585. Item, deliuerit to Patrik Master of Gray, master of his Hienes gairdrobe, xlvij elnis of small Holand clayth, to be scheittis to his Maiestie, price of the eln, inde j^cxx li

Sept. 1585. Item, be his Hienes precept to his traift coufing and counsailour, Patrik Master of Gray, the compositionis of the signatouris following, for furnessing of his Hienes claythis, for the quhilk the Master of Gray fuld be comptable. That is to say, the maillis, fermes, and dewties of the landis of Restenneth, xxvj lib. xij s. iiij d.; the escheat of Robert Guthrie of Lunane, disponit to James Gray, bruther to the said Maister of Gray, xl l.; ane remissioun to George Erle of Merfchell, etc. ij^m l.; the escheat of Gawane Carmichaell, xij l. vj s. viij d.; ane respeict to Stevin Burntfeild, xij l. vj s. viij d.; ane remissioun to Thomas Home, xij l. vj s. viij d. The escheit of Lovell of Balumby, iiij^c l. Omittis vntane allowance of in pe last compt of the lxxxiiij, the composition of pe discharge grantit be his Hienes to Johne Burntfeild, and certane vtheris, as cautioneris for him, of pe pane and vnlaw quherin they wer adiudgit j^cxxxiiij l. vj s. viij d.; and als ressauit be the said Patrik fra Sir Robert Meluille of Mordecairnie, knight, Thesaurare depute, ane hundreth crounis, at l s. pe pece, extending in pe haill to the soun of vj^m. viij^c lxxxx l.

Oct. Item, be his Maiesties speciale command, to ane seruant of the Master of Grayes, in drink filuer, at pe presenting of ane hors callit Blacklegis to his Hienes, twa crounis, at l s. pe pece, inde, v l.

Item, be his Maiesties precept to Griffell Hamiltoun, his Hienes semflare, for the furnessing of certane wark and necessaris deliuerit to Patrik Master of Gray to his Maiesties vse, as the famin is producit vpoun compt beris, j^cxx l.

Dec. Item, to ane boy passand of Lynlythgow, with clois lettres to Patrik Master of Gray, Commendatare of Dunfermeling, Commendatare of Culros, Lord Gray,¹ &c., iiij l. xj s.

¹ Patrick sixth Lord Gray.

Item, to ane boy passand of Lynlythgow with a clois lettre to Dunfermeling to be Master of Gray, xiiij s. iiij d.

May 1586. Item, the Comptare aucht to be discharged of the soun of thre thousand thre hundreth threttie thre pundis, sex schillings aucht pennies, resaut be Patrik Master of Gray fra the Provest of Lynclouden, becaus the comptar has chargit him perwith, vj^m. iiij^cxxxiiij l. vj s. viij d.

The Master of Gray grantit the resaut of this sowme.

Feb. 1587. Item, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with clois letters to be Lordis Gray and Sinclair, &c.,

Oct. 1590. The Comptar aucht to be dischargit of be sownes of money underwritten, whereof a part receiued by his Maiestie. Lykwayis be his Maiestie be compositioun of the escheat and lyfrent of Patrik Lord Gray, extending to iiij^cxl l.

Nov. 1592. Item, to John Henderson, messenger, and ane trumpetour with him passand to be mercat-croce of Edinburgh, to proclame summonds of treffoun agains Patrik Master of Gray, &c., to compear in be parliament to be halden in the tolbuthe of Edinburgh, in the moneth of Januare nixt, to answer, etc., xiiij l. vj s. viij d.

June 1593. Item, to Niniane Weir, messenger, passand to Edinburgh, with lettres to command and charge James Gray, sone lauchfull to Patrik Lord Gray, to exhibite and produce Margaret Carnegie, personallie befor his Maiestie and Lordes of Secret Counsaile, vpoun the xxj day of Junij instant, vnder the pane of rebelloun, after the forme and tenour of the saidis lettres, v l.

Feb. 1594. Item, to William Scot, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Lord Gray, and Patrik Maister of Gray, Sheref principall of Forfare; as alsua all and findrie be barrownis and landit men duelland to landwart within the boundis of be said sberfdome, and be provest, bailies, counsaile and communitie of Dundie, to demolishe, and caus be demolischt, the place, hous, and fortalice of Craig, betuix and the tent day of Merche nixtocum, vnder the pane of rebelloun, v l.

May 1595. Item, to John Bannatyne, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to command and charge Lodouik Duke of Lennox, Archibald Erle of Argyle, John Erle of Mar, the Constable of Dundie, the lairds of Towcht, Sauchy, and Langschaw, as cautioners on be ane parte: John

Erle of Athole, Patrik Maister of Gray, James Gray his brother, Thomas Stewart of Garntulie, James Stewart of Touchis, Mr Patrik Quhytlaw of Newgrange, his cautioners on þe vther parts; Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir, knyght, John Murray of Polmais, John Erskyne of Balgonie, his cautioners; William Schaw of Knockhill, the laird of Sauchy his cautioner; the laird of Merchaiftoun eldare and younger; to enter and present certane of þe McGregors and other broken men of þe Hielandis, to compeir and vnderly ordour anent peace and quietnes, . xv l. vj s. viij d.

August 1595. Item, be his Hienes speciall command delyverit to Patrik Maister of Gray, maister of the garderob, ane littill coffer to contene the Princes claithis, viij l.

Dec. 1595. Item, to ane boy passand of Edinburgh with clois lettres to the Erle Merfchell, Lord Gray and Spynie, the Maister of Gray, vj l.

Nov. 1596. Item, to ane uther boy passand of Edinburgh with clois letteris to the Erle of Rothies, Lordis Lindsay, Gray, Constable of Dundy, Lairdis of Balweiry, Lundy, Eifter and Wester Weymis, Torrie, and Bonyntoun, for wyld meit and veniesoun to the baptisme of the Princes, and to cum and tak part thair of thame selfis the xxvij of this instant, v l.

May 1598. Item, to John Downy, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maister of Gray, sheref of Forfar, to compeir afoir the Counfall the viij day of Junij nixt, to ansuer vpoun his diligence in the execution of the commiffion grantit to him aganis Patrik Lord Gray, Alex. Lawder of Vmoquhie, Henrie Futhie of Boysak, and certane vthers rebellis within the boundis of his office, vnder the pane of rebellioun, v l.

Oct. 1599. Item, to Walter Forfyth, messenger, passand with lettres to the mercat croce of Edinburgh and peir of Leith, and thairat be oppin proclamacioun sumonding Alexander Lord Home and Patrik Maister of Gray, vpone lx dayis warning, to compeir befoir þe Lordis of Seffioun, and heir declaratour gevin on thair lyverentis, xx s.

Item, to George Cuninghame, officer in þat part, passand with þe famin lettres to sumond þe said Patrik Maister of Gray at þe mercat croce of Forfar and his duelling hous of Huntlie, iij l.

Jan. 1600. Item, to Richart Bowmaker, sheriff in that part, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to summond Patrik Lord Gray, Johnie Ogilvie

of Innerquhartie, and Thomas Lyoun of Cosluns, to compeir befoir þe Lords of Sessioun the xxv of Februar nixt, to heir declaratour pronuncit on thair escheit and lyverentis, iiij l.

Aprile. Item, to William Baxter, sheriff in þat pairt, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to summond Robert Logane of Listarik, Maistres Marie Stewart, spous to Patrik Maister of Gray, and the said Patrik Maister of Gray, be oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croce of Edinburgh, þeir and schoir of Leith, and mercat croce of Forfar, to compeir befoir the Lords of Sessioun to heir þame decernit to pay the soume of xij^e merks, etc. iiij l.

Aprile 1602. Item, to ane boy passand of Brechin with clois lettres to the laird of Poury Fotheringhame, . . . Dowglas, dochter to the Erle of Angus, and Jeane Gray, dochter to the Maister of Gray, . . . xx s.

Dec. Item, to William Forfyth, messenger, passand of Edinburgh with lettres to charge Patrik Maister of Gray to pas and entir his persoun in wairde in the place of Huntlie, within thrie dayis, vnder the paine of rebelloun, v l.



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